THE

POSTHUMOUS

AND

Other Writings

OF

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,

LL.D. F.R.S., &c.

MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY FROM THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AT THE COURT OF FRANCE, AND FOR THE TREATY OF PEACE AND INDEPENDENCE WITH GREAT BRITAIN, &c. &c.

PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINALS,

BY HIS GRANDSON,

WILLIAM TEMPLE FRANKLIN.

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PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION

OF THE

POSTHUMOUS AND OTHER WRITINGS.

WITH the present Volumes the Editor conceives that he has completely redeemed his pledge to the Public, and faithfully discharged his trust as the conservator of Dr. Franklin's literary remains.

It is a common complaint that the reputation of men of eminence in the world of letters suffers by their posthumous works; nothing however of that kind is to be apprehended in regard to the present collection, for many of the fugitive Essays here assembled, and the

original Pieces now for the first time brought to public view, are directly referred to in the preceding MEMOIRS and CORRESPONDENCE as elucidatory of particular transactions, or as documents of authority for the confirmation of the truth of what is there asserted.

But independently of a consideration which is sufficient to free these supplementary Volumes from the charge of being supererogatory, the several tractates which make up their contents have all a paramount claim to preservation in their present form, on account of their intrinsic merits and relative importance, as connected with the personal history, character, and pursuits, of a man who never adopted any theory but with a view to practical experience, and who, in the true spirit of philosophy, applied all his speculations to objects of general utility.

It would, therefore, have been an act of culpable negligence, to have left even the lightest productions of such a mind to float down the stream of time, subject to all its

fluctuations, and liable to be lost or perverted amidst the perpetual changes which take place in human concerns.

Under the sense of this obligation has the present selection been made, as well to fulfil the promise given in the general title, as to supply that minute account of the Life and Writings of the Author, which has hitherto been so anxiously looked for.

For the sake of uniformity and perspicuity, the papers have been distributed into a systematic arrangement according to their respective subjects, or the connexion which they bear to each other.

The First Portion is entirely miscellaneous, being composed of papers on religious and moral subjects, interspered with a variety of sententious remarks or aphorisms, calculated to make a fixed impression on the mind, and, by their simplicity of operation, to meliorate the condition of mankind in the removal or correction of evils which evidently obstruct the progress of human improvement. The

third section of this part, intitled "Bagatelles," is of a sprightlier cast, and displays the cheerfulness of temper which formed so striking a feature in the character of Dr. Franklin, and uniformly enlivened his conversation amidst the cares of business and the infirmities of old age. The origin and design of these lively effusions are explained in a prefatory note, which it is hoped will prove an ample apology, if any such be necessary, for their insertion in this collection.

Those papers which relate immediately to the public character of Dr. Franklin are brought together in the Second Part, which may therefore be considered as exhibiting the rise and progress of the American Republic, from its incipient state of colonial industry and dependence, to the vigor of an internal polity, and the power of a consolidated empire. Here the philosopher, the historian, and the statesman, will find materials for the exercise of profound observation, upon the minute causes, and apparently fortuitous

events, which combine in the germination of small but active communities, till they have attained the rank and influence of mighty nations.

Under the Third Part are disposed a number of Essays of a more variegated description, connected with general policy, economy, and commerce, subjects in the discussion of which the felicitous genius of this great man shone with such distinguished lustre, as to render his practical remarks, inquiries, and even casual hints on local topics, valuable for the direct tendency which they had, in common with his more elaborate writings, to promote the welfare of society.

The Fourth and last Part comprises a selection of letters and papers on philosophical subjects.

At an early period of Dr. Franklin's career, as a man of science, he occasionally imparted to some of his most intimate acquaintance in England, accounts of the discoveries made by him at Philadelphia; and though these com-

munications were far from being intended for the public eye, the persons to whom they were addressed had a higher opinion of them than the Author, in consequence of which they were printed in London, under the title of "Experiments and Observations on Electricity, made at Philadelphia, with Letters and Papers on Philosophical Subjects." That the partiality of friendship had not over-rated the value of these papers, was quickly made evident by the reception which they experienced, not only in this country,[1] but on the continent of Europe, where they were translated into several languages, and by extending the fame of the Author, greatly enlarged the number of his correspondents in different parts of the world. Thus brought as it were, without his own consent, into the circle of the learned, he continued at intervals to prosecute the philosophical pursuits which had crowned

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[1] Five editions of this 4to volume were printed in London prior to 1775.

him with honor, and to communicate the particulars of his researches to his scientific friends, who received them with avidity. It merits observation, however, that notwithstanding the high eminence which Dr. Franklin attained as an experimentalist, he in reality may be said to have only made philosophy the amusement of his leisure hours, in which it afforded him a pleasing recreation after a variety of more laborious occupations.

Though some of the Essays contained under this head have already appeared, by far the greater portion of the contents of this part, (among which are several of the latest and most ingenious of Dr. Franklin's philosophical Writings,) are now for the first time printed from his own manuscripts.

In conclusion, the Editor trusts that the Volumes which now close his account with the public, will meet with the same favorable reception as the four that have preceded them; and that the whole will prove a lasting monument commemorative of the virtues and

talents of a man who, in every character, whether as an humble individual or a public diplomatist, as a philosophical inquirer or the legislator of an enlightened nation, constantly proved, throughout his long and eventful career, that he estimated his extraordinary talents of no other value than as enabling him to promote, as far as in him lay, the happiness of all mankind.

London, April, 1819.

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[The Letters, Essays, &c. contained in this Section, were chiefly written by Dr. Franklin for the amusement of his intimate society in London and Paris; and were by himself actually collected in a small port-folio, endorsed as above. Several of the pieces were either originally written in French, or afterwards translated by him into that language, by way of exercise.]

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SELECT WRITINGS

OF

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

PART I.

MISCELLANIES.

SECTION I.

RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS.

ARTICLES OF BELIEF, AND ACTS OF RELIGION,[1] IN TWO PARTS.

[*Referred to in Memoirs of the Life, Part II.*]

Here will I hold—If there is a power above us (and that there is, all nature cries aloud, through all her works), He must delight in virtue; and that which he delights in, must be happy. —CATO.

PART I.—FIRST PRINCIPLES.

I BELIEVE there is one supreme most perfect Being, author and father of the gods themselves.

[1] This paper is dated PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 20, 1728.

For I believe that man is not the most perfect being but one, but rather that there are many degrees of beings superior to him.

Also when I stretch my imagination through and beyond our system of planets, beyond the visible fixed stars themselves, into that space that is every way infinite, and conceive it filled with suns like ours, each with a chorus of worlds for ever moving round him; then this little ball on which we move, seems, even in my narrow imagination, to be almost nothing, and myself less than nothing, and of no sort of consequence.

When I think thus, I imagine it great vanity in me to suppose, that the *supremely-perfect* does in the least regard such an inconsiderable nothing as man; more especially, since it is impossible for me to have any clear idea of that which is infinite and incomprehensible, I cannot conceive otherwise, than that he *the infinite Father* expects or requires no worship or praise from us, but that he is even INFINITELY ABOVE IT.

But since there is in all men something like a natural principle which inclines them to DEVOTION, or the worship of some unseen power;

And since men are endued with reason superior to all other animals, that we are in our world acquainted with;

Therefore I think it seems required of me, and my duty, as a man, to pay divine regards to SOMETHING.

I conceive then that the INFINITE has created many beings or gods, vastly superior to man, who can better conceive his perfections than we, and return him a more rational and glorious praise.

As among men, the praise of the ignorant or of children, is not regarded by the ingenious painter or architect, who is rather honored and pleased with the approbation of wise men and artists.

It may be these created gods are immortal; or it may be that after many ages, they are changed, and others supply their places.

Howbeit, I conceive that each of these is exceeding wise and good, and very powerful; and that each has made for himself one glorious sun, attended with a beautiful and admirable system of planets.

It is that particular wise and good God, who is the author and owner of our system, that I propose for the object of my praise and adoration.

For I conceive that he has in himself some of those passions he has planted in us, and that since he has given us reason whereby we are capable of observing his wisdom in the creation, he is not above caring for us, being pleased with our praise, and offended when we slight him, or neglect his glory.

I conceive, for many reasons, that he is a *good Being*; and as I should be happy to have so wise, good, and powerful a Being my friend, let me con-

sider in what manner I shall make myself most acceptable to him.

Next to the praise resulting from and due to his wisdom, I believe he is pleased and delights in the happiness of those he has created; and since without virtue a man can have no happiness in this world, I firmly believe he delights to see me virtuous, because he is pleased when he sees me happy.

And since he has created many things which seem purely designed for the delight of man, I believe he is not offended when he sees his children solace themselves in any manner of pleasant exercises and innocent delights, and I think no pleasure innocent that is to man hurtful.

I *love* him therefore for his goodness, and I *adore* him for his wisdom.

Let me not fail, then, to praise my God continually, for it is his due, and it is all I can return for his many favors and great goodness to me; and let me resolve to be virtuous, that I may be happy, that I may please him, who is delighted to see me happy. Amen!

1. ADORATION. 2. PETITION. 3. THANKS.

PREL. Being mindful that before I address the Deity my soul ought to be calm and serene, free from passion and perturbation, or otherwise elevated with rational joy and pleasure, I ought to

use a countenance that expresses a filial respect, mixed with a kind of smiling, that signifies inward joy, and satisfaction and admiration.

O wise God, my good Father!

Thou beholdest the sincerity of my heart and of my devotion: grant me a continuance of thy favor!

1. O Creator, O Father! I believe that thou art good, and that thou art *pleased with the pleasure* of thy children.—Praised be thy name for ever!

2. By thy power hast thou made the glorious sun, with his attending worlds; from the energy of thy mighty will they first received [their prodigious] motion, and by thy wisdom hast thou prescribed the wondrous laws by which they move.—Praised be thy name for ever!

3. By thy wisdom hast thou formed all things; thou hast created man, bestowing life and reason, and placed him in dignity superior to thy other earthly creatures.—Praised be thy name for ever!

4. Thy wisdom, thy power, and thy goodness, are everywhere clearly seen; in the air, and in the water, in the heavens and on the earth; thou providest for the various winged fowl and the innumerable inhabitants of the water; thou givest cold and heat, rain and sunshine in their season, and to the fruits of the earth their increase.—Praised be thy name for ever!

5. Thou abhorrest in thy creatures treachery and deceit, malice, revenge, [intemperance] and

every other hurtful vice; but thou art a lover of justice and sincerity, of friendship and benevolence, and every virtue; thou art my friend, my father, and my benefactor.—Praised be thy name, O God, for ever! Amen.

[After this, it will not be improper to read part of some such book as Ray's Wisdom of God in the Creation, or Blackmore on the Creation, and the Archbishop of Cambray's Demonstration of the Being of a God, &c. or else spend some minutes in a serious silence, contemplating on those subjects.]

Then sing

MILTON'S HYMN TO THE CREATOR.

These are thy glorious works, Parent of Good!
Almighty; thine this universal frame,
Thus wondrous fair! Thyself how wondrous then!
Speak ye who best can tell, ye sons of light,
Angels, for ye behold him; and with songs,
And choral symphonies, day without night,
Circle his throne rejoicing. You in heaven,
On earth, join all ye creatures to extol
Him first, him last, him midst, and without end.
Fairest of stars, last in the train of night,
If rather thou belong'st not to the dawn,
Sure pledge of day! that crown'st the smiling morn
With thy bright circlet; praise him in thy sphere
While day arises, that sweet hour of prime.
Thou sun, of this great world both eye and soul,
Acknowledge him thy greater, sound his praise
In thy eternal course! both when thou climb'st,

And when high noon hast gain'd, and when thou fall'st.
Moon, that now meet'st the orient sun, now fly'st
With the fix'd stars, fix'd in their orb that flies!
And ye five other wand'ring fires that move
In mystic dance, not without song, resound
His praise, that out of darkness call'd up light.
Air! and ye elements! the eldest birth
Of nature's womb, that in quaternions run
Perpetual circle, multiform, and mix'd,
And nourish all things, let your ceaseless change
Vary to our great Maker stillne wpraise!
Ye mists and exhalations! that now rise
From hill or streaming lakes dusky or grey,
Till the sun paint your fleecy skirts with gold,
In honor to the world's great Author rise,
Whether to deck with clouds th' uncolored sky,
Or wet the thirsty earth with falling show'rs,
Rising or falling still advance his praise.
His praise, ye winds! that from four quarters blow,
Breathe soft or loud; and wave your tops, ye pines!
With every plant, in sign of worship wave.
Fountains! and ye that warble as ye flow
Melodious murmurs, warbling tune his praise.
Join voices all ye living souls, ye birds!
That singing, up to heaven's high gate ascend,
Bear on your wings and in your notes his praise.
Ye that in waters glide! and ye that walk
The earth! and stately tread; or lowly creep;
Witness *if I be silent*, ev'n or morn,
To hill or valley, fountain or fresh shade,
Made vocal by my song, and taught his praise.

[Here follows the reading of some book, or part of a book, discoursing on and exciting to moral virtue.]

PETITION.

PREL. Inasmuch as by reason of our ignorance we cannot be certain that many things which we often hear mentioned in the petitions of men to the Deity, would prove real goods if they were in our possession, and as I have reason to hope and believe that the goodness of my heavenly Father will not withhold from me a suitable share of temporal blessings, if by a virtuous and holy life I conciliate his favor and kindness: therefore I presume not to ask such things; but rather humbly, and with a sincere heart, express my earnest desire that he would graciously assist my continual endeavors and resolutions of eschewing vice and embracing virtue; which kind of supplications will at the same time remind me in a solemn manner of my extensive duty.

That I may be preserved from atheism, impiety, and profaneness; and in my addresses to Thee carefully avoid irreverence and ostentation, formality and odious hypocrisy,—Help me, O Father!

That I may be loyal to my prince, and faithful to my country, careful for its good, valiant in its defence, and obedient to its laws, abhorring treason as much as tyranny,—Help me, O Father!

That I may to those above me be dutiful, humble and submissive; avoiding pride, disrespect, and contumacy,—Help me, O Father!

That I may to those below me be gracious, con-

descending, and forgiving, using clemency, protecting innocent distress, avoiding cruelty, harshness, and oppression, insolence and unreasonable severity,—Help me, O Father!

That I may refrain from calumny and detraction; that I may abhor and avoid deceit and envy, fraud, flattery and hatred, malice, lying, and ingratitude,—Help me, O Father!

That I may be sincere in friendship, faithful in trust, and impartial in judgment, watchful against pride, and against anger (that momentary madness,)—Help me, O Father!

That I may be just in all my dealings, temperate in my pleasures, full of candor and ingenuousness, humanity and benevolence,—Help me, O Father!

That I may be grateful to my benefactors, and generous to my friends, exercising charity and liberality to the poor, and pity to the miserable,—Help me, O Father!

That I may possess integrity and evenness of mind, resolution in difficulties, and fortitude under affliction; that I may be punctual in performing my promises, peaceable and prudent in my behavior,—Help me, O Father!

That I may have tenderness for the weak, and reverent respect for the ancient; that I may be kind to my neighbors, good-natured to my companions, and hospitable to strangers,—Help me, O Father!

That I may be averse to craft and over-reaching, abhor extortion, perjury, and every kind of wickedness,—Help me, O Father!

That I may be honest and open-hearted, gentle, merciful, and good, cheerful in spirit, rejoicing in the good of others,—Help me, O Father!

That I may have a constant regard to honor and probity, that I may possess a perfect innocence and a good conscience, and at length become truly virtuous and magnanimous,—Help me, good God: help me, O Father!

And, forasmuch as ingratitude is one of the most odious of vices, let me not be unmindful gratefully to acknowledge the favors I receive from heaven.

THANKS.

For peace and liberty, for food and raiment, for corn and wine, and milk, and every kind of healthful nourishment,—Good God, I thank thee!

For the common benefits of air and light; for useful fire and delicious water,—Good God, I thank thee!

For knowledge, and literature, and every useful art; for my friends and their prosperity, and for the fewness of my enemies,—Good God, I thank thee!

For all thy innumerable benefits; for life and reason, and the use of speech; for health and joy,

and every pleasant hour,—My good God, I thank thee!

END OF THE FIRST PART.

[*N. B. No continuation of this has been found among Dr. Franklin's manuscripts.*]

A PARABLE AGAINST PERSECUTION, IN IMITATION OF SCRIPTURE LANGUAGE.[1]

[*Referred to in Memoirs of the Life, Part V.*]

1 And it came to pass after these things, that

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[1] Lord Kaimes, in his *Sketches of the History of Man*, (Vol. II. p. 472, 473.) thus expresses himself on the subject of this parable:

" The following parable against persecution was communicated to me by Dr. Franklin, of Philadelphia, a man who makes a great figure in the learned world; and who would still make a greater figure for benevolence and candor, were virtue as much regarded in this declining age as knowledge.

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" The historical style of the Old Testament is here finely imitated; and the moral must strike every one who is not sunk in stupidity and superstition. Were it really a chapter of Genesis, one is apt to think, that persecution could never have shown a bare face among Jews or Christians. But alas! that is a vain thought. Such a passage in the Old Testament, would avail as little against the rancorous passions of men, as the following passages in the New Testament, though persecution cannot be condemned in terms more explicit. 'Him that is weak in the faith, receive you, but not to doubtful disputations. For,' " &c.

Abraham sat in the door of his tent, about the going down of the sun:

2 And behold a man, bowed with age, came from the way of the wilderness, leaning on a staff.

3 And Abraham rose and met him, and said unto him, Turn in, I pray thee, and wash thy feet, and tarry all night, and thou shalt arise early on the morrow, and go on thy way.

4 But the man said, Nay, for I will abide under this tree.

5 And Abraham pressed him greatly; so he turned, and they went into the tent, and Abraham baked unleavened bread, and they did eat.

6 And when Abraham saw that the man blessed not God, he said unto him, Wherefore dost thou not worship the most high God, Creator of heaven and earth?

7 And the man answered and said, I do not worship the God thou speakest of, neither do I call upon his name; for I have made to myself a god, which abideth alway in mine house, and provideth me with all things.

8 And Abraham's zeal was kindled against the man, and he arose and drove him forth with blows into the wilderness.

9 And at midnight God called unto Abraham, saying, Abraham, where is the stranger?

10 And Abraham answered and said, Lord, he would not worship thee, neither would he call

upon thy name, therefore I have driven him out
from before my face into the wilderness.

11 And God said, Have I borne with him these
hundred ninety and eight years, and clothed him,
notwithstanding his rebellion against me; and
couldst not thou, that art thyself a sinner, bear
with him one night?

12 And Abraham said, Let not the anger of
the Lord wax hot against his servant; lo, I have
sinned; forgive me, I pray thee.

13 And Abraham arose, and went forth into
the wilderness, and sought diligently for the man,
and found him, and returned with him to the tent;
and when he had entreated him kindly, he sent
him away on the morrow with gifts.

14 And God spake again unto Abraham, say-
ing, For this thy sin shall thy seed be afflicted four
hundred years in a strange land:

15 But for thy repentance will I deliver them;
and they shall come forth with power, and with
gladness of heart, and with much substance.

ON PERSECUTION IN FORMER AGES—OF DISSENTERS, STATE OF TOLERATION, &c.

To the Printer of the London Packet, June 3, 1772.

Sir,

I understand from the public papers, that in the debates on the bill for relieving the dis-

senters in the point of subscription to the church articles, sundry reflections were thrown out against that people, importing, "That they themselves are of a persecuting intolerant spirit, for that when they had the superiority, they persecuted the church, and still persecute it in *America*, where they compel its members to pay taxes for maintaining the presbyterian or independent worship, and at the same time, refuse them a toleration in the full exercise of their religion by the administrations of a bishop."

If we look back into history for the character of the present sects in Christianity, we shall find few that have not in their turns been persecutors, and complainers of persecution. The primitive Christians thought persecution extremely wrong in the Pagans, but practised it on one another. The first Protestants of the church of *England* blamed persecution in the *Romish* church, but practise it against the *Puritans*: these found it wrong in the bishops, but fell into the same practice themselves both here and in New England. To account for this we should remember, that the doctrine of *toleration* was not then known, or had not prevailed in the world. Persecution was therefore not so much the fault of the sect as of the times. It was not in those days deemed wrong *in itself*. The general opinion was only, that those *who are in error* ought not to persecute *the truth*: but the *possessors of truth* were in the right to persecute

for Propagating the Gospel), objections were made to the payment of a tax appropriated to the support of a church they disapproved and had forsaken. The civil magistrates, however, continued for a time to collect and apply the tax according to the original laws which remained in force; and they did it more freely, as thinking it just and equitable, that the holders of lands should pay what was contracted to be paid when they were granted, as the only consideration for the grant, and what had been considered by all subsequent purchasers as a perpetual incumbrance on the estate, bought therefore at a proportionably cheaper rate; a payment which it was thought no honest man ought to avoid under the pretence of his having changed his religious persuasion. And this I suppose is one of the best grounds of demanding tithes of dissenters now in *England*. But the practice being clamored against by the episcopalians as persecution, the legislature of the province of *Massachusetts Bay*, near thirty years since, passed an act for their relief, requiring indeed the tax to be paid as usual, but directing that the several sums levied from members of the church of England, should be paid over to the minister of that church, with whom such members usually attended divine worship, which minister had power

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vided; administering God's word and sacraments, and preventing atheism, infidelity, popery, and idolatry.

given him to receive, and on occasion *to recover the same by law.*

It seems that legislature considered the *end* of the tax was to secure and improve the morals of the people, and promote their happiness, by supporting among them the public worship of God, and the preaching of the gospel; that where particular people fancied a particular mode, that mode might probably therefore be of most use to those people; and that if the good was done, it was not so material in what mode or by whom it was done. The consideration that their brethren the dissenters in *England* were still compelled to pay tithes to the clergy of the church, had not weight enough with the legislature to prevent this moderate act, which still continues in full force; and I hope no uncharitable conduct of the church towards the dissenters will ever provoke them to repeal it.

With regard to a *bishop*, I know not upon what grounds the dissenters, either here or in America, are charged with refusing the benefit of such an officer to the church in that country. *Here* they seem to have naturally no concern in the affair. *There* they have no power to prevent it, if government should think fit to send one. They would probably *dislike*, indeed, to see an order of men established among them, from whose persecutions their fathers fled into that wilderness, and whose future domination they may possibly fear, *not knowing that their natures are changed.* But the non-

appointment of bishops for America, seems to arise from another quarter. The same wisdom of government, probably, that prevents the sitting of convocations, and forbids by *noli-prosequis* the persecution of dissenters for non-subscription, avoids establishing bishops where the minds of the people are not yet prepared to receive them cordially, lest the public peace should be endangered.

And now let us see how this *persecution account* stands between the parties.

In *New England*, where the legislative bodies are almost to a man dissenters from the church of England,

1. There is no test to prevent churchmen from holding offices.

2. The sons of churchmen have the full benefit of the universities.

3. The taxes for support of public worship, when paid by churchmen, are given to the episcopal minister.

In *Old England*,

1. Dissenters are excluded from all offices of profit and honor.

2. The benefits of education in the universities are appropriated to the sons of churchmen.

3. The clergy of the dissenters receive none of the tithes paid by their people, who must be at the additional charge of maintaining their own separate worship.

But it is said, the dissenters of America *oppose* the introduction of a bishop.

In fact it is not alone the dissenters there that give opposition (if *not encouraging* must be termed *opposing*), but the laity in general dislike the project, and some even of the clergy. The inhabitants of Virginia are almost all episcopalians. The church is fully established there, and the council and general assembly are perhaps to a man its members; yet, when lately at a meeting of the clergy a resolution was taken to apply for a bishop, against which several however protested, the assembly of the province at their next meeting expressed their disapprobation of the thing in the strongest manner, by unanimously ordering the thanks of the house to the protesters; for many of the American laity of the church think it some advantage, whether their own young men come to England for ordination and improve themselves at the same time by conversation with the learned here, or the congregations are supplied by Englishmen, who have had the benefit of education in English universities, and are ordained before they come abroad. They do not therefore see the necessity of a bishop merely for ordination, and confirmation is deemed among them a ceremony of no very great importance, since few seek it in England, where bishops are in plenty. These sentiments prevail with many churchmen there, not to promote a design which they think must

sooner or later saddle them with great expenses to support it. As to the dissenters, their minds might probably be more conciliated to the measure, if the bishops here should, in their wisdom and goodness, think fit to set their sacred character in a more friendly light, by dropping their opposition to the dissenters' application for relief in subscription, and declaring their willingness that dissenters should be capable of offices, enjoy the benefit of education in the universities, and the privilege of appropriating their tithes to the support of their own clergy. In all these points of toleration they appear far behind the present dissenters of New England, and it may seem to some a step below the dignity of bishops to follow the example of such inferiors. I do not however despair of their doing it some time or other, since nothing of the kind is too hard for *true Christian humility*. I am, Sir, yours, &c. A NEW ENGLAND MAN.

A PARABLE ON BROTHERLY LOVE, &C.

In those days there was no worker of iron in all the land. And the merchants of Midian passed by with their camels, bearing spices, and myrrh, and balm, and wares of iron.

And Reuben bought an axe of the Ishmaelite merchants, which he prized highly, for there was none in his father's house.

And Simeon said unto Reuben his brother, Lend

me, I pray thee, thine axe. But he refused, and would not.

And Levi also said unto him, My brother, lend me, I pray thee, thine axe; and he refused him also.

Then came Judah unto Reuben, and entreated him, saying, Lo! thou lovest me, and I have always loved thee, do not refuse me the use of thine axe.

But Reuben turned from him, and refused him likewise.

Now it came to pass, that Reuben hewed timber on the bank of the river, and his axe fell therein, and he could by no means find it.

But Simeon, Levi, and Judah, had sent a messenger after the Ishmaelites with money, and had bought for themselves each an axe.

Then came Reuben unto Simeon, and said, Lo! I have lost mine axe, and my work is unfinished, lend me thine, I pray thee.

And Simeon answered him, saying, Thou wouldest not lend me thine axe, therefore will I not lend thee mine.

Then went he unto Levi, and said unto him, My brother, thou knowest my loss and my necessity; lend me, I pray thee, thine axe.

And Levi reproached him, saying, Thou wouldest not lend me thine axe when I desired it, but I will be better than thou, and will lend thee mine.

And Reuben was grieved at the rebuke of Levi,

and being ashamed, turned from him, and took not the axe, but sought his brother Judah.

And as he drew near, Judah beheld his countenance as it were covered with grief and shame; and he prevented him, saying, My brother, I know thy loss; but why should it trouble thee? Lo! have I not an axe that will serve both thee and me? Take it, I pray thee, and use it as thine own.

And Reuben fell on his neck, and kissed him, with tears, saying, Thy kindness is great, but thy goodness in forgiving me is greater. Thou art indeed my brother, and whilst I live will I surely love thee.

And Judah said, Let us also love our other brethren; behold, are we not all of one blood?

And Joseph saw these things, and reported them to his father Jacob.

And Jacob said, Reuben did wrong, but he repented. Simeon also did wrong; and Levi was not altogether blameless:

But the heart of Judah is princely. Judah hath the soul of a king. His father's children shall bow down before him, and he shall rule over his brethren.

SECTION II.

VARIOUS SUBJECTS.

THE BUSY-BODY.—NO. I.

From the American Weekly Mercury, from Tuesday, Jan. 28, to Tuesday, Feb. 4, 1728-9.

[Referred to in Memoirs of the Life, Part I.]

MR. ANDREW BRADFORD,

I DESIGN this to acquaint you, that I, who have long been one of your courteous readers, have lately entertained some thought of setting up for an author myself; not out of the least vanity, I assure you, or desire of showing my parts, but purely for the good of my country.

I have often observed with concern, that your Mercury is not always equally entertaining. The delay of ships expected in, and want of fresh advices from Europe, make it frequently very dull; and I find the freezing of our river has the same effect on news as trade. With more concern have I continually observed the growing vices and follies of my country-folk; and though reformation is properly the concern of every man, that is, every one ought to mend one; yet it is too true in this case, that what is every body's business is no body's business; and the business is done accordingly. I therefore, upon mature deliberation, think

fit to take no body's business wholly into my own hands; and, out of zeal for the public good, design to erect myself into a kind of *censor morum;* purposing, with your allowance, to make use of the Weekly Mercury as a vehicle in which my remonstrances shall be conveyed to the world.

I am sensible I have in this particular undertaken a very unthankful office, and expect little besides my labor for my pains. Nay, it is probable, I may displease a great number of your readers, who will not very well like to pay ten shillings a year for being told of their faults. But as most people delight in censure when they themselves are not the objects of it, if any are offended at my publicly exposing their private vices, I promise they shall have the satisfaction, in a very little time, of seeing their good friends and neighbors in the same circumstances.

However, let the fair sex be assured, that I shall always treat them and their affairs with the utmost decency and respect. I intend now and then to dedicate a chapter wholly to their service; and if my lectures any way contribute to the embellishment of their minds, and brightening of their understandings, without offending their modesty, I doubt not of having their favor and encouragement.

It is certain, that no country in the world produces naturally finer spirits than ours; men of genius for every kind of science, and capable of

acquiring to perfection every qualification that is in esteem among mankind. But as few here have the advantage of good books, for want of which good conversation is still more scarce, it would doubtless have been very acceptable to your readers, if, instead of an old out-of-date article from Muscovy or Hungary, you had entertained them with some well-chosen extract from a good author. This I shall sometimes do, when I happen to have nothing of my own to say that I think of more consequence. Sometimes I purpose to deliver lectures of morality or philosophy, and (because I am naturally inclined to be meddling with things that do not concern me) perhaps I may sometimes talk politics. And if I can by any means furnish out a weekly entertainment for the public that will give a rational diversion, and at the same time be instructive to the readers, I shall think my leisure hours well employed; and if you publish this, I hereby invite all ingenious gentlemen and others (that approve of such an undertaking) to my assistance and correspondence.

It is like by this time, you have a curiosity to be acquainted with my name and character. As I do not aim at public praise, I design to remain concealed; and there are such numbers of our family and relations at this time in the country, that though I have signed my name at full length, I am not under the least apprehension of being distinguished and discovered by it. My character,

indeed, I would favor you with, but that I am cautious of praising myself, lest I should be told my trumpeter's dead; and I cannot find in my heart at present, to say any thing to my own disadvantage.

It is very common with authors, in their first performances, to talk to their readers thus: If this meets with a suitable reception, or, if this should meet with due encouragement, I shall hereafter publish, &c. This only manifests the value they put on their own writings, since they think to frighten the public into their applause, by threatening, that unless you approve what they have already wrote, they intend never to write again; when perhaps it may not be a pin matter, whether they ever do or no. As I have not observed the critics to be more favorable on this account, I shall always avoid saying any thing of the kind; and conclude with telling you, that if you send me a bottle of ink and a quire of paper by the bearer, you may depend on hearing further from, Sir, your most humble servant,

THE BUSY-BODY.

THE BUSY-BODY.—NO. II.

From Tuesday, Feb. 4, to Tuesday, Feb. 11, 1728-9.

All fools have still an itching to deride,
And fain would be upon the laughing side.—POPE.

MONSIEUR de la Rochefoucault tells us somewhere in his Memoirs, that the Prince of Condé delighted much in ridicule, and used frequently to shut himself up for half a day together in his chamber, with a gentleman that was his favorite, purposely to divert himself with examining what was the foible or ridiculous side of every noted person in the court. That gentleman said afterwards in some company, that he thought nothing was more ridiculous in any body, than this same humor in the prince; and I am somewhat inclined to be of this opinion. The general tendency there is among us to this embellishment (which I fear has too often grossly imposed upon my loving countrymen instead of wit), and the applause it meets with from a rising generation, fill me with fearful apprehensions for the future reputation of my country; a young man of modesty (which is the most certain indication of large capacities) is hereby discouraged from attempting to make any figure in life; his apprehensions of being outlaughed, will force him to continue in a restless obscurity, without having an opportunity of knowing his own merit himself or discovering it to the world, rather than venture to oppose himself in a

place where a pun or a sneer shall pass for wit, noise for reason, and the strength of the argument be judged by that of the lungs. Among these witty gentlemen let us take a view of Ridentius; what a contemptible figure does he make with his train of paltry admirers! This wight shall give himself an hour's diversion with the cock of a man's hat, the heels of his shoes, an unguarded expression in his discourse, or even some personal defect; and the height of his low ambition is to put some one of the company to the blush, who perhaps must pay an equal share of the reckoning with himself. If such a fellow makes laughing the sole end and purpose of his life, if it is necessary to his constitution, or if he has a great desire of growing suddenly fat, let him eat; let him give public notice where any dull stupid rogues may get a quart of four-penny for being laughed at; but it is barbarously unhandsome when friends meet for the benefit of conversation, and a proper relaxation from business, that one should be the butt of the company, and four men made merry at the cost of the fifth.

How different from this character is that of the good-natured gay Eugenius! who never spoke yet but with a design to divert and please; and who was never yet baulked in his intention. Eugenius takes more delight in applying the wit of his friends, than in being admired himself; and if any one of the company is so unfortunate as to be touched a

little too nearly, he will make use of some ingenious artifice to turn the edge of ridicule another way, choosing rather to make himself a public jest, than be at the pain of seeing his friend in confusion.

Among the tribe of laughers, I reckon the petty gentlemen that write satires, and carry them about in their pockets, reading them themselves in all company they happen into; taking an advantage of the ill taste of the town, to make themselves famous for a pack of paltry low nonsense, for which they deserve to be kicked rather than admired, by all who have the least tincture of politeness. These I take to be the most incorrigible of all my readers; nay, I expect they will be squibbing at the Busy-Body himself. However, the only favor he begs of them is this, that if they cannot control their overbearing itch of scribbling, let him be attacked in downright biting lyrics; for there is no satire he dreads half so much as an attempt towards a panegyric.

THE BUSY-BODY.—NO. III.

From Tuesday, February 11, *to Tuesday, February* 18, 1728—9.

> Non vultus instantis Tyranni
> Mente quatit solida, nec auster,
> Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ,
> Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus.—HOR.

IT is said that the Persians, in their ancient constitution, had public schools in which virtue was

taught as a liberal art or science; and it is certainly of more consequence to a man, that he has learnt to govern his passions in spite of temptation, to be just in his dealings, to be temperate in his pleasures, to support himself with fortitude under his misfortunes, to behave with prudence in all his affairs, and in every circumstance of life; I say it is of much more real advantage to him to be thus qualified, than to be a master of all the arts and sciences in the world beside.

Virtue alone is sufficient to make a man great, glorious, and happy. He that is acquainted with Cato, as I am, cannot help thinking as I do now, and will acknowledge he deserves the name, without being honored by it. Cato is a man whom fortune has placed in the most obscure part of the country. His circumstances are such, as only put him above necessity, without affording him many superfluities; yet who is greater than Cato? I happened but the other day to be at a house in town, where, among others, were met men of the most note in this place: Cato had business with some of them, and knocked at the door. The most trifling actions of a man, in my opinion, as well as the smallest features and lineaments of the face, give a nice observer some notion of his mind. Methought he rapped in such a peculiar manner, as seemed of itself to express there was one who deserved as well as desired admission. He appeared in the plainest country garb; his great coat

was coarse, and looked old and threadbare; his linen was homespun; his beard, perhaps, of seven days' growth; his shoes thick and heavy; and every part of his dress corresponding. Why was this man received with such concurring respect from every person in the room, even from those who had never known him or seen him before? It was not an exquisite form of person, or grandeur of dress, that struck us with admiration. I believe long habits of virtue have a sensible effect on the countenance: there was something in the air of his face that manifested the true greatness of his mind, which likewise appeared in all he said, and in every part of his behavior, obliging us to regard him with a kind of veneration. His aspect is sweetened with humanity and benevolence, and at the same time emboldened with resolution, equally free from diffident bashfulness and an unbecoming assurance. The consciousness of his own innate worth and unshaken integrity, renders him calm and undaunted in the presence of the most great and powerful, and upon the most extraordinary occasions. His strict justice and known impartiality, make him the arbitrator and decider of all differences that arise for many miles around him, without putting his neighbors to the charge, perplexity, and uncertainty of law-suits. He always speaks the thing he means, which he is never afraid or ashamed to do, because he knows he always means well, and therefore is never obliged to blush,

and feel the confusion of finding himself detected in the meanness of a falsehood. He never contrives ill against his neighbors, and therefore is never seen with a lowring, suspicious aspect. A mixture of innocence and wisdom makes him ever seriously cheerful. His generous hospitality to strangers, according to his ability; his goodness, his charity, his courage in the cause of the oppressed, his fidelity in friendship, his humility, his honesty and sincerity, his moderation, and his loyalty to the government; his piety, his temperance, his love to mankind, his magnanimity, his public-spiritedness, and, in fine, his consummate virtue, make him justly deserve to be esteemed the glory of his country.

> The brave do never shun the light,
> Just are their thoughts, and open are their tempers;
> Freely without disguise they love and hate;
> Still are they found in the fair face of day,
> And heaven and men are judges of their actions.—ROWE.

Who would not rather choose, if it were in his choice, to merit the above character, than be the richest, the most learned, or the most powerful man in the province without it?

Almost every man has a strong natural desire of being valued and esteemed by the rest of his species, but I am concerned and grieved to see how few fall into the right and only infallible method of becoming so. That laudable ambition is too commonly misapplied, and often ill employed.

Some, to make themselves considerable, pursue learning; others grasp at wealth; some aim at being thought witty; and others are only careful to make the most of a handsome person; but what is wit, or wealth, or form, or learning, when compared with virtue? It is true, we love the handsome, we applaud the learned, and we fear the rich and powerful; but we even worship and adore the virtuous. Nor is it strange; since men of virtue are so rare, so very rare to be found. If we were as industrious to become good as to make ourselves great, we should become really great by being good, and the number of valuable men would be much increased; but it is a grand mistake to think of being great without goodness; and I pronounce it as certain, that there was never yet a truly great man, that was not at the same time truly virtuous.

O Cretico! thou sour philosopher! thou cunning statesman! thou art crafty, but far from being wise. When wilt thou be esteemed, regarded, and beloved like Cato? When wilt thou, among thy creatures, meet with that unfeigned respect and warm good-will that all men have for him? Wilt thou never understand, that the cringing, mean, submissive deportment of thy dependants, is (like the worship paid by Indians to the devil) rather through fear of the harm thou mayest do them, than out of gratitude for the favors they have received of thee? Thou art not wholly void of

virtue; there are many good things in thee, and many good actions reported of thee. Be advised by thy friend: neglect those musty authors; let them be covered with dust, and moulder on their proper shelves; and do thou apply thyself to a study much more profitable—the study of mankind and thyself.

This is to give notice, that the Busy-Body strictly forbids all persons, from this time forward, of what age, sex, rank, quality, degree, or denomination soever, on any pretence, to inquire who is the author of this paper, on pain of his displeasure (his own near and dear relations only excepted).

It is to be observed, that if any bad characters happen to be drawn in these papers, they mean no particular person, if they are not particularly applied.

Likewise, that the author is no party-man, but a general meddler.

N.B. Cretico lives in a neighboring province.

THE BUSY-BODY.—NO. IV.

From Tuesday, February 18, *to Tuesday, February* 25, 1728—9.

Nequid nimis.

In my first paper I invited the learned and the ingenious to join with me in this undertaking, and I now repeat that invitation. I would have such

gentlemen take this opportunity (by trying their talent in writing) of diverting themselves and friends, and improving the taste of the town. And because I would encourage all wit of our own growth and produce, I hereby promise, that whoever shall send me a little essay on some moral or other subject, that is fit for public view in this manner, (and not basely borrowed from any other author) I shall receive it with candor, and take care to place it to the best advantage. It will be hard if we cannot muster up in the whole country a sufficient stock of sense to supply the Busy-Body at least for a twelvemonth. For my own part, I have already professed, that I have the good of my country wholly at heart in this design, without the least sinister view; my chief purpose being to inculcate the noble principles of virtue, and deprecate vice of every kind. But as I know the mob hate instruction, and the generality would never read beyond the first line of my lectures, if they were actually filled with nothing but wholesome precepts and advice, I must therefore sometimes humor them in their own way. There are a set of great names in the province, who are the common objects of popular dislike. If I can now and then overcome my reluctance, and prevail with myself to satirise a little one of these gentlemen, the expectation of meeting with such a gratification will induce many to read me through, who would otherwise proceed immediately to the

foreign news. As I am very well assured the greatest men among us have a sincere love for their country, notwithstanding its ingratitude, and the insinuations of the envious and malicious to the contrary, so I doubt not but they will cheerfully tolerate me in the liberty I design to take for the end above mentioned.

As yet I have but few correspondents, though they begin now to increase. The following letter, left for me at the printer's, is one of the first I have received, which I regard the more for that it comes from one of the fair sex, and because I have myself oftentimes suffered under the grievance therein complained of.

To the Busy-Body.

"Sir,

"You having set yourself up for a *censurer morum*, (as I think you call it) which is said to mean a reformer of manners, I know no person more proper to be applied to for redress in all the grievances we suffer from want of manners in some people. You must know I am a single woman, and keep a shop in this town for a livelihood. There is a certain neighbor of mine, who is really agreeable company enough, and with whom I have had an intimacy of some time standing; but of late she makes her visits so exceedingly often, and stays so very long every visit, that I am tired out of all patience. I have no manner of time at all

to myself; and you, who seem to be a wise man, must needs be sensible that every person has little secrets and privacies, that are not proper to be exposed even to the nearest friend. Now I cannot do the least thing in the world, but she must know about it; and it is a wonder I have found an opportunity to write you this letter. My misfortune is, that I respect her very well, and know not how to disoblige her so much as to tell her I should be glad to have less of her company; for if I should once hint such a thing, I am afraid she would resent it so as never to darken my door again. But alas, Sir, I have not yet told you half my affliction. She has two children that are just big enough to run about and do pretty mischief: these are continually along with mamma, either in my room or shop, if I have ever so many customers or people with me about business. Sometimes they pull the goods off my low shelves down to the ground, and perhaps where one of them has just been making water. My friend takes up the stuff, and cries, "Oh! thou little wicked mischievous rogue! But, however, it has done no great damage; it is only wet a little:" and so puts it up upon the shelf again. Sometimes they get to my cask of nails behind the counter, and divert themselves, to my great vexation, with mixing my ten-penny, and eight-penny, and four-penny, together. I endeavor to conceal my uneasiness as much as possible, and with a grave look go to

sorting them out. She cries, "Don't thee trouble thyself, neighbor: let them play a little: I'll put all to rights before I go." But things are never so put to rights but that I find a great deal of work to do after they are gone. Thus, Sir, I have all the trouble and pesterment of children, without the pleasure of calling them my own; and they are now so used to being here, that they will be content no where else. If she would have been so kind as to have moderated her visits to ten times a day, and staid but half an hour at a time, I should have been contented, and I believe never have given you this trouble. But this very morning they have so tormented me that I could bear no longer; for, while the mother was asking me twenty impertinent questions, the youngest got to my nails, and with great delight rattled them by handfuls all over the floor; and the other, at the same time, made such a terrible din upon the counter with a hammer, that I grew half distracted. I was just then about to make myself a new suit of pinners, but in the fret and confusion I cut it quite out of all manner of shape, and utterly spoiled a piece of the first muslin. Pray, sir, tell me what I shall do; and talk a little against such unreasonable visiting in your next paper; though I would not have her affronted with me for a great deal, for sincerely I love her and her children, as well, I think, as a neighbor can, and she buys a great many things in a year at

my shop. But I would beg her to consider, that she uses me unmercifully, though I believe it is only for want of thought. But I have twenty things more to tell you besides all this: there is a handsome gentleman that has a mind (I don't question) to make love to me, but he can't get the opportunity to —— O dear! here she comes again; I must conclude,

"Yours, &c. PATIENCE."

Indeed, it is well enough, as it happens, that she is come to shorten this complaint, which I think is full long enough already, and probably would otherwise have been as long again. However, I must confess, I cannot help pitying my correspondent's case; and, in her behalf, exhort the visitor to remember and consider the words of the wise man, "Withdraw thy foot from the house of thy neighbor, lest he grow weary of thee, and so hate thee." It is, I believe, a nice thing, and very difficult, to regulate our visits in such a manner as never to give offence by coming too seldom, or too often, or departing too abruptly, or staying too long. However, in my opinion, it is safest for most people in a general way, who are unwilling to disoblige, to visit seldom, and tarry but a little while in a place, notwithstanding pressing invitations, which are many times insincere. And though more of your company should be really desired, yet in

this case too much reservedness is a fault more easily excused than the contrary.

Men are subject to various inconveniences merely through lack of a small share of courage, which is a quality very necessary in the common occurrences of life, as well as in a battle. How many impertinences do we daily suffer with great uneasiness, because we have not courage enough to discover our dislike? And why may not a man use the boldness and freedom of telling his friends, that their long visits sometimes incommode him? On this occasion, it may be entertaining to some of my readers, if I acquaint them with the Turkish manner of entertaining visitors, which I have from an author of unquestionable veracity; who assures us,* that even the Turks are not so ignorant of civility and the arts of endearment, but that they can practise them with as much exactness as any other nation, whenever they have a mind to show themselves obliging.

*"When you visit a person of quality, (says he) and have talked over your business, or the compliments, or whatever concern brought you thither, he makes a sign to have things served in for the entertainment, which is generally a little sweetmeat, a dish of sherbet, and another of coffee; all which are immediately brought in by the servants, and tendered to all the guests in order, with the greatest care and awfulness imaginable. At last comes

the finishing part of your entertainment, which is, perfuming the beards of the company; a ceremony which is performed in this manner:—They have for the purpose a small silver chafing-dish, covered with a lid full of holes, and fixed upon a handsome plate. In this they put some fresh coals, and upon them a piece of lignum aloes; shutting it up, the smoke immediately ascends with a grateful odor through the holes of the cover. This smoke is held under every one's chin, and offered as it were a sacrifice to his beard. The bristly idol soon receives the reverence done to it, and so greedily takes in and incorporates the gummy steam, that it retains the savor of it, and may serve for a nosegay a good while after.

"This ceremony may perhaps seem ridiculous at first hearing, but it passes among the Turks for a high gratification. And I will say this in its vindication, that its design is very wise and useful. For it is understood to give a civil dismission to the visitants, intimating to them that the master of the house has business to do, or some other avocations, that permits them to go away as soon as they please; and the sooner after this ceremony the better. By this means you may, at any time, without offence, deliver yourself from being detained from your affairs by tedious and unseasonable visits; and from being constrained to use that piece of hypocrisy, so common in the world, of

pressing those to stay longer with you, whom perhaps in your heart you wish a great way off for having troubled you so long already."

Thus far my author. For my own part, I have taken such a fancy to this Turkish custom, that for the future I shall put something like it in practice. I have provided a bottle of right French brandy for the men, and citron water for the ladies. After I have treated with a dram, and presented a pinch of my best snuff, I expect all company will retire, and leave me to pursue my studies for the good of the public.

ADVERTISEMENT.

I give notice, that I am now actually compiling, and design to publish in a short time, the true history of the rise, growth, and progress of the renowned Tiff Club. All persons who are acquainted with any facts, circumstances, characters, transactions, &c. which will be requisite to the perfecting and embellishment of the said work, are desired to communicate the same to the author, and direct their letters to be left with the printer hereof.

The letter signed "*Would-be-something,*" is come to hand.

THE BUSY-BODY.—NO. V.

From Tuesday, February 25, to Tuesday, March 4, 1728—9.

Vos, o patricius sanguis, quos vivere fas est
Occipiti cæco, posticæ occurrite sannæ.—PERSIUS.

THIS paper being designed for a terror to evil doers, as well as praise to them that do well, I am lifted up with secret joy to find, that my undertaking is approved, and encouraged by the just and good, and that few are against me but those who have reason to fear me.

There are little follies in the behavior of most men, which their best friends are too tender to acquaint them with; there are little vices and small crimes which the law has no regard to or remedy for: there are likewise great pieces of villany sometimes so craftily accomplished, and so circumspectly guarded, that the law can take no hold of the actors. All these things, and all things of this nature, come within my province as Censor; and I am determined not to be negligent of the trust I have reposed in myself, but resolve to execute my office diligently and faithfully.

And that all the world may judge with how much humanity, as well as justice, I shall behave in this office; and that even my enemies may be convinced I take no delight to rake into the dunghill lives of vicious men; and to the end that certain persons may be a little eased of their fears, and relieved from the terrible palpitations they

have lately felt and suffered, and do still suffer; I hereby graciously pass an act of general oblivion, for all offences, crimes, and misdemeanors of what kind soever, committed from the beginning of the year 1681, until the day of the date of my first paper, and promise only to concern myself with such as have been since and shall hereafter be committed. I shall take no notice who has (heretofore) raised a fortune by fraud and oppression, nor who by deceit and hypocrisy; what woman has been false to her good husband's bed, nor what man has, by barbarous usage or neglect, broken the heart of a faithful wife, and wasted his health and substance in debauchery; what base wretch has betrayed his friend, and sold his honesty for gold, nor what baser wretch first corrupted him, and then bought the bargain: all this, and much more of the same kind, I shall forget, and pass over in silence; but then it is to be observed, that I expect and require a sudden and general amendment.

These threatenings of mine, I hope will have a good effect, and, if regarded, may prevent abundance of folly and wickedness in others, and, at the same time, save me abundance of trouble: and that people may not flatter themselves with the hopes of concealing their loose misdemeanors from my knowledge, and in that view persist in evil doing, I must acquaint them, that I have lately entered into an intimacy with the extraordinary per-

son, who some time since wrote me the following letter; and who, having a wonderful faculty, that enables him to discover the most secret iniquity, is capable of giving me great assistance in my designed work of reformation.

MR. BUSY-BODY,

"I rejoice, Sir, at the opportunity you have given me to be serviceable to you, and, by your means, to this province. You must know, that such have been the circumstances of my life, and such were the marvellous concurrences of my birth, that I have not only a faculty of discovering the actions of persons, that are absent or asleep, but even of the devil himself, in many of his secret workings, in the various shapes, habits, and names of men and women: and having travelled and conversed much, and met but with a very few of the same perceptions and qualifications, I can recommend myself to you as the most useful man you can correspond with. My father's father's father (for we had no grandfathers in our family) was the same John Bunyan who wrote that memorable book, The Pilgrim's Progress, who had, in some degree, a natural faculty of second sight. This faculty (how derived to him our family memoirs are not very clear) was enjoyed by all his descendants, but not by equal talents. It was very dim in several of my first cousins, and probably had been nearly extinct in our particular branch,

had not my father been a traveller. He lived, in his youthful days, in New England. There he married, and there was born my elder brother, who had so much of this faculty, as to discover witches in some of their occult performances. My parents transporting themselves to Great Britain, my second brother's birth was in that kingdom. He shared but a small portion of this virtue, being only able to discern transactions about the time of, and for the most part after, their happening. My good father, who delighted in the Pilgrim's Progress, and mountainous places, took shipping, with his wife, for Scotland, and inhabited in the Highlands, where myself was born: and whether the soil, climate, or astral influences, of which are preserved divers prognostics, restored our ancestor's natural faculty of second sight, in a greater lustre to me, than it had shined in through several generations, I will not here discuss. But so it is, that I am possessed largely of it, and design, if you encourage the proposal, to take this opportunity of doing good with it, which I question not will be accepted of in a grateful way by many of your honest readers, though the discovery of my extraction bodes me no deference from your great scholars and modern philosophers. This my father was long ago aware of; and lest the name alone should hurt the fortunes of his children, he, in his shiftings from one country to another, wisely changed it.

"Sir, I have only this further to say, how I may

be useful to you, and as a reason for my not making myself more known in the world: by virtue of this great gift of nature, second-sightedness, I do continually see numbers of men, women, and children, of all ranks, and what they are doing, while I am sitting in my closet; which is too great a burden for the mind, and makes me also conceit, even against reason, that all this host of people can see and observe me, which strongly inclines me to solitude, and an obscure living; and, on the other hand, it will be an ease to me to disburthen my thoughts and observations in the way proposed to you, by, Sir, your friend and humble servant."

I conceal this correspondent's name, in my care for his life and safety, and cannot but approve his prudence, in choosing to live obscurely. I remember the fate of my poor monkey: he had an ill-natured trick of grinning and chattering at every thing he saw in petticoats: my ignorant country neighbors got a notion, that pug snarled by instinct at every female who had lost her virginity. This was no sooner generally believed, than he was condemned to death: by whom I could never learn, but he was assassinated in the night, barbarously stabbed and mangled in a thousand places, and left hanging dead on one of my gate posts, where I found him the next morning.

The Censor observing, that the itch of scribbling begins to spread exceedingly, and being carefully

tender of the reputation of his country, in point of wit and good sense, has determined to take all manner of writing in verse or prose, that pretend to either, under his immediate cognizance; and accordingly, hereby prohibits the publishing any such for the future, till they have first passed his examination, and received his imprimatur: for which he demands as a fee only sixpence per sheet.

N. B. He nevertheless permits to be published, all satirical remarks on the Busy-Body, the above prohibition notwithstanding, and without examination, or requiring the said fees; which indulgence, the small wits in and about this city are advised gratefully to accept and acknowledge.

The gentleman, who calls himself Sirronio, is directed, on receipt of this, to burn his great book of Crudities.

P. S. In compassion to that young man, on account of the great pains he has taken, in consideration of the character I have just received of him, that he is really good-natured, and on condition he shows it to no foreigner, or stranger of sense, I have thought fit to reprieve his said great book of Crudities from the flames, till further order.

Noli me tangere.

I had resolved, when I first commenced this design, on no account to enter into a public dis-

pute with any man; for I judged it would be equally unpleasant to me and my readers, to see this paper filled with contentious wrangling, answers, replies, &c.; which is a way of writing that is endless, and, at the same time, seldom contains any thing that is either edifying or entertaining. Yet, when such a considerable man as Mr. —— finds himself concerned so warmly to accuse and condemn me, as he has done in Keimer's last Instructor, I cannot forbear endeavoring to say something in my own defence, from one of the worst of characters that could be given me by a man of worth. But as I have many things of more consequence to offer the public, I declare, that I will never, after this time, take notice of any accusations, not better supported with truth and reason; much less may every little scribbler, that shall attack me, expect an answer from the Busy-Body.

The sum of the charge delivered against me, either directly or indirectly, in the said paper, is this: not to mention the first weighty sentence concerning vanity and ill-nature, and the shrewd intimation, that I am without charity, and therefore can have no pretence to religion, I am represented as guilty of defamation and scandal, the odiousness of which is apparent to every good man, and the practice of it opposite to Christianity, morality, and common justice, and, in some cases, so far below all these, as to be inhuman; as a blaster of reputations; as attempting, by a pre-

tence, to screen myself from the imputation of malice and prejudice; as using a weapon, which the wiser and better part of mankind hold in abhorrence; and as giving treatment which the wiser and better part of mankind dislike on the same principles, and for the same reason, as they do assassination, &c.; and all this is inferred and concluded from a character I have written in my Number III.

In order to examine the justice and truth of this heavy charge, let us recur to that character. And here we may be surprised to find what a trifle has raised this mighty clamor and complaint, this grievous accusation!—The worst thing said of the person, in what is called my gross description (be he who he will to whom my accuser has applied the character of Cretico), is, that he is a sour philosopher, crafty, but not wise. Few human characters can be drawn that will not fit somebody, in so large a country as this; but one would think, supposing I meant Cretico a real person, I had sufficiently manifested my impartiality, when I said, in that very paragraph, that Cretico is not without virtue; that there are many good things in him, and many good actions reported of him; which must be allowed, in all reason, very much to overbalance in his favor those worst words, sour-tempered, and cunning. Nay, my very enemy and accuser must have been sensible of this, when he freely acknowledges, that he has been seriously

considering, and cannot yet determine, which he would choose to be, the Cato or Cretico of that paper; since my Cato is one of the best of characters. Thus much in my own vindication. As to the only reasons there given, why I ought not to continue drawing characters, viz. Why should any man's picture be published which he never sat for; or his good name taken from him any more than his money or possessions, at the arbitrary will of another, &c.? I have but this to answer; the money or possessions, I presume, are nothing to the purpose, since no man can claim a right either to those or a good name, if he has acted so as to forfeit them. And are not the public the only judges what share of reputation they think proper to allow any man? Supposing I was capable, and had an inclination to draw all the good and bad characters in America, why should a good man be offended with me for drawing good characters? And if I draw ill ones, can they fit any but those that deserve them? And ought any but such to be concerned that they have their deserts? I have as great an aversion and abhorrence for defamation and scandal as any man, and would with the utmost care avoid being guilty of such base things; besides, I am very sensible and certain, that if I should make use of this paper to defame any person, my reputation would be sooner hurt by it than his, and the Busy-Body would quickly become detestable; because, in such a case, as is justly

observed, the pleasure arising from a tale of wit and novelty soon dies away in generous and honest minds, and is followed with a secret grief to see their neighbors calumniated. But if I myself was actually the worst man in the province, and any one should draw my true character, would it not be ridiculous in me to say he had defamed and scandalised me, unless he had added in a matter of truth? If any thing is meant by asking, why any man's picture should be published which he never sat for? it must be, that we should give no character without the owner's consent. If I discern the wolf disguised in harmless wool, and contriving the destruction of my neighbor's sheep, must I have his permission before I am allowed to discover and prevent him? If I know a man to be a designing knave, must I ask his consent to bid my friends beware of him? If so, then, by the same rule, supposing the Busy-Body had really merited all his enemy had charged him with, his consent likewise ought to have been obtained before so terrible an accusation was published against him.

I shall conclude with observing, that in the last paragraph save one of the piece now examined, much ill-nature and some good sense are co-inhabitants (as he expresses it). The ill-nature appears in his endeavoring to discover satire where I intended no such thing, but quite the reverse; the good sense is this, that drawing too good a cha-

racter of any one is a refined manner of satire that may be as injurious to him as the contrary, by bringing on an examination that undresses the person, and in the haste of doing it, he may happen to be stript of what he really owns and deserves. As I am Censor, I might punish the first, but I forgive it. Yet I will not leave the latter unrewarded; but assure my adversary, that in consideration of the merit of those four lines, I am resolved to forbear injuring him on any account in that refined manner.

I thank my neighbor P—— W——l for his kind letter.

The lions complained of shall be muzzled.

THE BUSY-BODY.—NO. VIII.

From Tuesday, March 20, to Tuesday, March 27, 1729.

Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri sacra fames? VIRGIL.

ONE of the greatest pleasures an author can have, is certainly the hearing his works applauded. The hiding from the world our names while we publish our thoughts, is so absolutely necessary to this self-gratification, that I hope my well-wishers will congratulate me on my escape from the many diligent but fruitless inquiries that have of late been made after me. Every man will own, that an author, as such, ought to be hid by the merit of his productions only; but pride, party,

and prejudice, at this time run so very high, that experience shows we form our notions of a piece by the character of the author. Nay, there are some very humble politicians in and about this city, who will ask on which side the writer is, before they presume to give their opinion of the thing wrote. This ungenerous way of proceeding I was well aware of before I published my first speculation, and therefore concealed my name. And I appeal to the more generous part of the world, if I have, since I appeared in the character of the Busy-Body, given an instance of my siding with any party more than another, in the unhappy divisions of my country; and I have, above all, this satisfaction in myself, that neither affection, aversion, or interest, have biassed me to use any partiality towards any man, or set of men: but whatsoever I find nonsensical, ridiculous, or immorally dishonest I have, and shall continue openly to attack, with the freedom of an honest man and a lover of my country.

I profess I can hardly contain myself, or preserve the gravity and dignity that should attend the censorial office, when I hear the odd and unaccountable expositions that are put upon some of my works, through the malicious ignorance of some, and the vain pride of more than ordinary penetration in others; one instance of which many of my readers are acquainted with. A certain gentleman has taken a great deal of pains to write

a key to the letter in my Number IV., wherein he has ingeniously converted a gentle satire upon tedious and impertinent visitants, into a libel on some of the government. This I mention only as a specimen of the taste of the gentleman I am, forsooth, bound to please in my speculations; not that I suppose my impartiality will ever be called in question on that account. Injustices of this nature I could complain of in many instances; but I am at present diverted by the reception of a letter, which, though it regards me only in my private capacity as an adept, yet I venture to publish it for the entertainment of my readers.

To Censor Morum, Esq. Busy-Body General of the Province of Pennsylvania, and the Counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex upon Delaware.

HONORABLE SIR,

I judge by your lucubrations, that you are not only a lover of truth and equity, but a man of parts and learning and a master of science; as such I honor you. Know, then, most profound Sir, that I have, from my youth up, been a very indefatigable student in and admirer of that divine science, astrology. I have read over Scot, Albertus Magnus, and Cornelius Agrippa, above three hundred times; and was in hopes, by my knowledge and industry, to gain enough to have recompensed me for my money expended and time lost in the pursuit of this learning. You cannot be

ignorant, Sir, (for your intimate second-sighted correspondent knows all things) that there are large sums of money hidden under ground in divers places about this town, and in many parts of the country: but alas, Sir, notwithstanding I have used all the means laid down in the immortal authors before mentioned, and when they failed, the ingenious Mr. P—d—l, with his mercurial wand and magnet, I have still failed in my purpose. This therefore I send, to propose and desire an acquaintance with you; and I do not doubt, notwithstanding my repeated ill-fortune, but we may be exceedingly serviceable to each other in our discoveries; and that if we use our united endeavors, the time will come when the Busy-Body, his second-sighted correspondent, and your very humble servant, will be three of the richest men in the province: and then, Sir, what may we not do? A word to the wise is sufficient. I conclude, with all demonstrable respect, yours and Urania's votary, TITAN PLEIADES.

In the evening, after I had received this letter, I made a visit to my second-sighted friend, and communicated to him the proposal. When he had read it, he assured me, that to his certain knowledge, there is not at this time so much as one ounce of silver or gold hid under ground in any part of this province; for that the late and present scarcity of money had obliged those who were

living, and knew where they had formerly hid any, to take it up, and use it in their own necessary affairs; and as to all the rest which was buried by pirates and others in old times, who were never like to come for it, he himself had dug it all up and applied it to charitable uses; and this he desired me to publish for the general good. For, as he acquainted me, there are among us great numbers of honest artificers and laboring people, who, fed with a vain hope of growing suddenly rich, neglect their business, almost to the ruining of themselves and families, and voluntarily endure abundance of fatigue in a fruitless search after imaginary hidden treasure. They wander through the woods and bushes by day, to discover the marks and signs; at midnight they repair to the hopeful spots with spades and pickaxes: full of expectation, they labor violently, trembling at the same time in every joint, through fear of certain malicious demons who are said to haunt and guard such places. At length a mighty hole is dug, and perhaps several cart-loads of earth thrown out; but alas, no cag or iron pot is found! no seaman's chest crammed with Spanish pistoles, or weighty pieces of eight! Then they conclude, that through some mistake in the procedure, some rash word spoke, or some rule of art neglected, the guardian spirit had power to sink it deeper into the earth, and convey it out of their reach. Yet, when a man is once thus infatuated, he is so far from be-

ing discouraged by ill success, that he is rather animated to double his industry, and will try again and again in a hundred different places, in hopes at last of meeting with some lucky hit, that shall at once sufficiently reward him for all his expense of time and labor.

This odd humor of digging for money, through a belief that much has been hid by pirates formerly frequenting the river, has for several years been mighty prevalent among us; insomuch that you can hardly walk half a mile out of the town on any side, without observing several pits dug with that design, and perhaps some lately opened. Men, otherwise of very good sense, have been drawn into this practice through an overweening desire of sudden wealth, and an easy credulity of what they so earnestly wished might be true. While the rational and almost certain methods of acquiring riches by industry and frugality, are neglected or forgotten. There seems to be some peculiar charm in the conceit of finding money; and if the sands of Schuylkil were so much mixed with small grains of gold, that a man might in a day's time, with care and application, get together to the value of half a crown, I make no question but we should find several people employed there, that can with ease earn five shillings a day at their proper trades.

Many are the idle stories told of the private suc-

cess of some people, by which others are encouraged to proceed; and the astrologers, with whom the country swarms at this time, are either in the belief of these things themselves, or find their advantage in persuading others to believe them; for they are often consulted about the critical times for digging, the methods of laying the spirit, and the like whimsies, which renders them very necessary to, and very much caressed by, the poor deluded money-hunters.

There is certainly something very bewitching in the pursuit after mines of gold and silver and other valuable metals, and many have been ruined by it. A sea-captain of my acquaintance used to blame the English for envying Spain their mines of silver, and too much despising or overlooking the advantages of their own industry and manufactures. "For my part," says he, "I esteem the banks of Newfoundland to be a more valuable possession than the mountains of Potosi; and when I have been there on the fishing account, have looked upon every cod pulled up into the vessel as a certain quantity of silver ore, which required only carrying to the next Spanish port to be coined into pieces of eight;" not to mention the national profit of fitting out and employing such a number of ships and seamen. Let honest Peter Buckram, who has long without success been a searcher after hidden money, reflect on this, and be reclaimed

from that unaccountable folly. Let him consider, that every stitch he takes when he is on his shop-board, is picking up part of a grain of gold, that will in a few days' time amount to a pistole; and let Faber think the same of every nail he drives, or every stroke with his plane. Such thoughts may make them industrious, and in consequence, in time they may be wealthy: but how absurd is it to neglect a certain profit for such a ridiculous whimsey! to spend whole days at the George, in company with an idle pretender to astrology, contriving schemes to discover what was never hidden, and forgetful how carelessly business is managed at home in their absence; to leave their wives and a warm bed at midnight (no matter if it rain, hail, snow, or blow a hurricane, provided that be the critical hour) and fatigue themselves with the violent exercise of digging for what they shall never find, and perhaps getting a cold that may cost their lives, or at least disordering themselves so as to be fit for no business beside for some days after. Surely this is nothing less than the most egregious folly and madness.

I shall conclude with the words of my discreet friend Agricola, of Chester county, when he gave his son a good plantation:—"My son," said he, "I give thee now a valuable parcel of land; I assure thee I have found a considerable quantity of gold by digging there; thee mayst do the same;

but thee must carefully observe this, *Never to dig more than plow-deep.*"

[*The foregoing are the only Numbers of the* BUSY-BODY *ascertained to be from the pen of Franklin; they were written when he was about 23 years of age.*]

DIALOGUE BETWEEN PHILOCLES AND HORATIO, MEETING ACCIDENTALLY IN THE FIELDS, CONCERNING VIRTUE AND PLEASURE.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 84, June 23, 1730.[1]

Philocles. My friend Horatio! I am very glad to see you; prithee how came such a man as you alone? and musing too? What misfortune in your pleasures has sent you to philosophy for relief?

Horatio. You guess very right, my dear Philocles: we pleasure-hunters are never without them; and yet, so enchanting is the game, we cannot quit the chace. How calm and undisturbed is your life! how free from present embarrassments and future cares! I know you love me, and look

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[1] This and the seven Essays following, have never before been published in Europe. They are taken from an American collection; the editor of which fully ascertained their authenticity.

with compassion upon my conduct; show me then the path which leads up to that constant and invariable good, which I have heard you so beautifully describe, and which you seem so fully to possess.

Phil. There are few men in the world I value more than you, Horatio! for amidst all your foibles and painful pursuits of pleasure, I have oft observed in you an honest heart, and a mind strongly bent towards virtue. I wish, from my soul, I could assist you in acting steadily the part of a reasonable creature; for, if you would not think it a paradox, I should tell you I love you better than you do yourself.

Hor. A paradox indeed! better than I do myself! when I love my dear self so well, that I love every thing else for my own sake.

Phil. He only loves himself well, who rightly and judiciously loves himself.

Hor. What do you mean by that, Philocles? You men of reason and virtue are always dealing in mysteries, though you laugh at them when the church makes them. I think he loves himself very well and very judiciously too, as you call it, who allows himself to do whatever he pleases.

Phil. What, though it be to the ruin and destruction of that very self which he loves so well? That man alone loves himself rightly, who procures the greatest possible good to himself through

the whole of his existence; and so pursues pleasure as not to give for it more than it is worth.

Hor. That depends all upon opinion. Who shall judge what the pleasure is worth? Suppose a pleasing form of the fair kind strikes me so much, that I can enjoy nothing without the enjoyment of that one object: or, that pleasure in general is so favorite a mistress, that I will take her as men do their wives, for better, for worse; minding no consequences, nor regarding what is to come. Why should I not do it?

Phil. Suppose, Horatio, that a friend of yours entered into the world about two-and-twenty, with a healthful vigorous body, and a fair plentiful estate of about five hundred pounds a-year; and yet, before he had reached thirty, should, by following his own pleasures, and not as you, duly regarding consequences, have run out of his estate, and disabled his body to that degree, that he had neither the means nor capacity of enjoyment left, nor any thing else to do but wisely shoot himself through the head to be at rest; what would you say to this unfortunate man's conduct? Is it wrong by opinion or fancy only? or is there really a right and wrong in the case? is not one opinion of life and action juster than another? or one sort of conduct preferable to another? or does that miserable son of pleasure appear as reasonable and lovely a being in your eyes as a man who, by pru-

dently and rightly gratifying his natural passions, had preserved his body in full health, and his estate entire, and enjoyed both to a good old age, and then died with a thankful heart for the good things he had received, and with an entire submission to the will of Him who first called him into being? Say, Horatio, are these men equally wise and happy? And is every thing to be measured by mere fancy and opinion, without considering whether that fancy or opinion be right?

Hor. Hardly so neither, I think; yet sure the wise and good Author of nature could never make us to plague us. He could never give us passions, on purpose to subdue and conquer them; nor produce this self of mine, or any other self, only that it may be denied; for that is denying the works of the great Creator himself. Self-denial, then, which is what I suppose you mean by prudence, seems to me not only absurd, but very dishonorable to that supreme wisdom and goodness which is supposed to make so ridiculous and contradictory a creature, that must be always fighting with himself in order to be at rest, and undergo voluntary hardships in order to be happy: are we created sick, only to be commanded to be sound? Are we born under one law, our passions, and yet bound to another, that of reason? Answer me, Philocles, for I am warmly concerned for the honor of nature, the mother of us all.

Phil. I find, Horatio, my two characters have

affrighted you; so that you decline the trial of what is good, by reason; and had rather make a bold attack upon Providence, the usual way of you gentlemen of fashion, who, when by living in defiance of the eternal rules of reason, you have plunged yourselves into a thousand difficulties, endeavor to make yourselves easy by throwing the burden upon nature: you are, Horatio, in a very miserable condition indeed; for you say you cannot be happy if you control your passions; and you feel yourself miserable by an unrestrained gratification of them; so that here is evil, irremediable evil, either way.

Hor. That is very true, at least it appears so to me; pray what have you to say, Philocles, in honor of Nature or Providence? methinks I am in pain for her: how do you rescue her, poor lady?

Phil. This, my dear Horatio, I have to say; that what you find fault with and clamor against, as the most terrible evil in the world, self-denial, is really the greatest good, and the highest self-gratification: if indeed you use the word in the sense of some weak moralists, and much weaker divines, you will have just reason to laugh at it; but if you take it, as understood by philosophers and men of sense, you will presently see her charms, and fly to her embraces, notwithstanding her demure looks, as absolutely necessary to produce even your own darling sole good, pleasure: for, self-

denial is never a duty, or a reasonable action, but as it is a natural means of procuring more pleasure than you can taste without it; so that this grave saint-like guide to happiness, as rough and dreadful as she has been made to appear, is in truth the kindest and most beautiful mistress in the world.

Hor. Prithee, Philocles, do not wrap yourself in allegory and metaphor: why do you tease me thus? I long to be satisfied, what is this philosophical self-denial; the necessity and reason of it; I am impatient, and all on fire: explain, therefore, in your beautiful natural easy way of reasoning, what I am to understand by this grave lady of yours, with so forbidding downcast looks, and yet so absolutely necessary to my pleasures; I stand to embrace her, for you know, pleasure I court under all shapes and forms.

Phil. Attend, then, and you will see the reason of this philosophical self-denial. There can be no absolute perfection in any creature; because every creature is derived from something of a superior existence, and dependent on that source for its own existence: no created being can be all-wise, all-good, and all-powerful, because his powers and capacities are finite and limited; consequently whatever is created must, in its own nature, be subject to error, irregularity, excess, and imperfectness. All intelligent rational agents find in themselves a power of judging what kind of beings they are, what actions are proper to preserve them,

and what consequences will generally attend them, what pleasures they are for, and to what degree their natures are capable of receiving them. All we have to do then, Horatio, is to consider, when we are surprised with a new object, and passionately desire to enjoy it, whether the gratifying that passion be consistent with the gratifying other passions and appetites equal, if not more necessary to us. And whether it consists with our happiness to-morrow, next week, or next year; for, as we all wish to live, we are obliged by reason to take as much care for our future, as our present happiness, and not build one upon the ruins of the other: but if through the strength and power of a present passion, and through want of attending to consequences, we have erred and exceeded the bounds which nature or reason have set us; we are then, for our own sakes, to refrain, or deny ourselves a present momentary pleasure for a future, constant, and durable one: so that this philosophical self-denial is only refusing to do an action which you strongly desire; because it is inconsistent with health, convenience, or circumstances in the world: or in other words, because it would cost you more than it was worth. You would lose by it, as a man of pleasure. Thus you see, Horatio, that self-denial is not only the most reasonable, but the most pleasant thing in the world.

Hor. We are just coming into town, so that we cannot pursue this argument any farther at pre-

sent; you have said a great deal for nature, Providence, and reason: happy are they who can follow such divine guides.

Phil. Horatio, good night; I wish you wise in your pleasures.

Hor. I wish, Philocles, I could be as wise in my pleasures as you are pleasantly wise; your wisdom is agreeable, your virtue is amiable, and your philosophy the highest luxury. Adieu, thou enchanting reasoner!

A SECOND DIALOGUE BETWEEN PHILOCLES AND HORATIO, CONCERNING VIRTUE AND PLEASURE.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 86, *July* 9, 1730.

Philocles. Dear Horatio, where hast thou been these three or four months? What new adventures have you fallen upon since I met you in these delightful all-inspiring fields, and wondered how such a pleasure-hunter as you could bear being alone?

Horatio. O Philocles! thou best of friends, because a friend to reason and virtue! I am very glad to see you. Do not you remember, I told you then, that some misfortunes in my pleasures had sent me to philosophy for relief? but now I do assure you I can, without a sigh, leave other pleasures for those of philosophy: I can hear the

word reason mentioned, and virtue praised, without laughing. Do not I bid fair for conversion, think you?

Phil. Very fair, Horatio; for I remember the time when reason, virtue, and pleasure, were the same thing with you: when you counted nothing good but what pleased, nor any thing reasonable but what you gained by: when you made a jest of a mind, and the pleasures of reflection; and elegantly placed your sole happiness, like the rest of the animal creation, in the gratification of sense.

Hor. I did so: but in our last conversation, when walking upon the brow of this hill, and looking down on that broad rapid river, and yon widely-extended beautifully-varied plain, you taught me another doctrine; you showed me, that self-denial, which above all things I abhorred, was really the greatest good, and the highest self-gratification, and absolutely necessary to produce even my own darling sole good, pleasure.

Phil. True: I told you that self-denial was never a duty, but when it was a natural means of procuring more pleasure than we could taste without it: that as we all strongly desire to live, and to live only to enjoy, we should take as much care about our future as our present happiness, and not build one upon the ruins of the other: that we should look to the end, and regard consequences: and if through want of attention we had erred, and exceeded the bounds which nature had set us, we

were then obliged, for our own sakes, to refrain or deny ourselves a present momentary pleasure for a future, constant, and durable good.

Hor. You have shown, Philocles, that self-denial, which weak or interested men have rendered the most forbidding, is really the most delightful and amiable, the most reasonable and pleasant thing in the world. In a word, if I understand you aright, self-denial is, in truth, self-recognising, self-acknowledging, or self-owning. But now, my friend, you are to perform another promise, and show me the path that leads up to that constant, durable, and invariable good, which I have heard you so beautifully describe, and which you seem so fully to possess. Is not this good of yours a mere chimera? Can any thing be constant in a world which is eternally changing, and which appears to exist by an everlasting revolution of one thing into another, and where every thing without us, and every thing within us, is in perpetual motion? What is this constant durable good, then, of yours? Prithee satisfy my soul, for I am all on fire, and impatient to enjoy her. Produce this eternal blooming goddess with never-fading charms, and see whether I will not embrace her with as much eagerness and rapture as you.

Phil. You seem enthusiastically warm, Horatio; I will wait till you are cool enough to attend to the sober dispassionate voice of reason.

Hor. You mistake me, my dear Philocles; my

warmth is not so great as to run away with my reason: it is only just raised enough to open my faculties, and fit them to receive those eternal truths, and that durable good, which you so triumphantly boasted of. Begin, then; I am prepared.

Phil. I will. I believe, Horatio, with all your scepticism about you, you will allow that good to be constant which is never absent from you, and that to be durable which never ends but with your being.

Hor. Yes, go on.

Phil. That can never be the good of a creature, which, when present, the creature may be miserable, and when absent, is certainly so.

Hor. I think not; but pray explain what you mean; for I am not much used to this abstract way of reasoning.

Phil. I mean all the pleasures of sense. The good of man cannot consist in the mere pleasures of sense; because, when any one of those objects which you love is absent, or cannot be come at, you are certainly miserable: and if the faculty be impaired, though the object be present, you cannot enjoy it. So that this sensual good depends upon a thousand things without and within you, and all out of your power. Can this then be the good of man? Say, Horatio, what think you, is not this a chequered, fleeting, fantastical good? Can that, in any propriety of speech, be called the good of man which, even while he is tasting, he may be miser-

able; and which, when he cannot taste, he is necessarily so? Can that be our good, which costs us a great deal of pains to obtain, which cloys in possessing, for which we cannot wait the return of appetite before we can enjoy again? Or is that our good, which we can come at without difficulty, which is heightened by possession, which never ends in weariness and disappointment, and which, the more we enjoy, the better qualified we are to enjoy on?

Hor. The latter, I think; but why do you torment me thus? Philocles, show me this good immediately.

Phil. I have showed you what it is not; it is not sensual, but it is rational and moral good. It is doing all the good we can to others, by acts of humanity, friendship, generosity, and benevolence: this is that constant and durable good, which will afford contentment and satisfaction always alike, without variation or diminution. I speak to your experience now, Horatio: did you ever find yourself weary of relieving the miserable? or of raising the distressed into life or happiness? or rather, do not you find the pleasure grow upon you by repetition, and that it is greater in the reflection than in the act itself? Is there a pleasure upon earth to be compared with that which arises from the sense of making others happy? Can this pleasure ever be absent, or ever end but with your being? Does it not always accompany you? Doth not it lie

down and rise with you, live as long as you live, give you consolation in the hour of death, and remain with you when all other things are going to forsake you, or you them?

Hor. How glowingly you paint, Philocles: methinks Horatio is amongst the enthusiasts. I feel the passion: I am enchantingly convinced; but I do not know why: overborne by something stronger than reason. Sure some divinity speaks within me: but prithee, Philocles, give me the cause, why this rational and moral good so infinitely excels the mere natural or sensual.

Phil. I think, Horatio, that I have clearly shown you the difference between merely natural or sensual good, and rational or moral good. Natural or sensual pleasure continues no longer than the action itself; but this divine or moral pleasure continues when the action is over, and swells and grows upon your hand by reflection: the one is inconstant, unsatisfying, of short duration, and attended with numberless ills; the other is constant, yields full satisfaction, is durable, and no evils preceding, accompanying, or following it. But if you inquire farther into the cause of this difference, and would know why the moral pleasures are greater than the sensual, perhaps the reason is the same as in all other creatures, that their happiness or chief good consists in acting up to their chief faculty, or that faculty which distinguishes them from all creatures of a different spe-

cies. The chief faculty in man is his reason, and consequently his chief good; or, that which may be justly called his good, consists not merely in action, but in reasonable action. By reasonable actions, we understand those actions which are preservative of the human kind, and naturally tend to produce real and unmixed happiness; and these actions, by way of distinction, we call actions morally good.

Hor. You speak very clearly, Philocles; but, that no difficulty may remain on my mind, pray tell me what is the real difference between natural good and evil, and moral good and evil? for I know several people who use the terms without ideas.

Phil. That may be: the difference lies only in this; that natural good and evil are pleasure and pain; moral good and evil are pleasure or pain produced with intention and design: for it is the intention only that makes the agent morally good or bad.

Hor. But may not a man, with a very good intention, do an evil action?

Phil. Yes; but then he errs in his judgment, though his design be good: if his error is inevitable, or such as, all things considered, he could not help, he is inculpable; but, if it arose through want of diligence in forming his judgment about the nature of human actions, he is immoral and culpable.

Hor. I find, then, that in order to please ourselves rightly, or to do good to others morally, we should take great care of our opinions.

Phil. Nothing concerns you more; for, as the happiness or real good of men consists in right action, and right action cannot be produced without right opinion, it behoves us, above all things in this world, to take care that our own opinions of things be according to the nature of things. The foundation of all virtue and happiness is thinking rightly. He who sees an action is right, that is, naturally tending to good, and does it because of that tendency, he only is a moral man; and he alone is capable of that constant, durable, and invariable good, which has been the subject of this conversation.

Hor. How, my dear philosophical guide, shall I be able to know, and determine certainly, what is right and wrong in life?

Phil. As easily as you distinguish a circle from a square, or light from darkness. Look, Horatio, into the sacred book of nature; read your own nature, and view the relation which other men stand in to you, and you to them, and you will immediately see what constitutes human happiness, and consequently, what is right.

Hor. We are just coming into town, and can say no more at present. You are my good genius, Philocles; you have showed me what is good; you have redeemed me from the slavery and misery

of folly and vice, and made me a free and happy being.

Phil. Then I am the happiest man in the world: be you steady, Horatio: never depart from reason and virtue.

Hor. Sooner will I lose my existence. Good night, Philocles.

Phil. Adieu, dear Horatio!

PUBLIC MEN.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 95, *Sept.* 3, 1730.

THE following is a dialogue between Socrates, the great Athenian philosopher, and one Glaucon, a private man, of mean abilities, but ambitious of being chosen a senator, and of governing the republic; wherein Socrates, in a pleasant manner, convinces him of his incapacity for public affairs, by making him sensible of his ignorance of the interests of his country, in their several branches, and entirely dissuades him from any attempt of that nature. There is also added, at the end, part of another dialogue the same Socrates had with one Charmidas, a worthy man, but too modest, wherein he endeavors to persuade him to put himself forward and undertake public business, as being very capable of it. The whole is taken from Xenophon's Memorable Things of Socrates, lib. 3.

A certain man, whose name was Glaucon, the son of Ariston, had so fixed it in his mind to govern the republic, that he frequently presented himself before the people to discourse of affairs of state, though all the world laughed at him for it; nor was it in the power of his relations or friends to dissuade him from that design. But Socrates had a kindness for him, on account of Plato, his brother, and he only it was who made him change his resolution: he met him, and accosted him in so winning a manner, that he first obliged him to hearken to his discourse. He began with him thus: You have a mind then to govern the republic? I have so, answered Glaucon. You cannot, replied Socrates, have a more noble design: for if you can accomplish it so as to become absolute, you will be able to serve your friends, you will raise your family, you will extend the bounds of your country, you will be known, not only in Athens, but through all Greece, and perhaps your renown will fly even to the barbarous nations, as did that of Themistocles. In short, wherever you come, you will have the respect and admiration of all the world. These words soothed Glaucon, and won him to give ear to Socrates, who went on in this manner. But it is certain, that if you desire to be honored, you must be useful to the state. Certainly, said Glaucon. And in the name of all the gods, replied Socrates, tell me what is the first service that you intend to render the state? Glau-

con was considering what to answer, when Socrates continued: If you design to make the fortune of one of your friends, you will endeavor to make him rich, and thus perhaps you will make it your business to enrich the republic? I would, answered Glaucon. Socrates replied: Would not the way to enrich the republic be to increase its revenue? It is very likely it would, answered Glaucon. Tell me then in what consists the revenue of the state, and to how much it may amount? I presume you have particularly studied this matter, to the end that if any thing should be lost on one hand, you might know where to make it good on another, and that if a fund should fail on a sudden you might immediately be able to settle another in its place? I protest, answered Glaucon, I have never thought of this. Tell me at least the expenses of the republic, for no doubt you intend to retrench the superfluous? I never thought of this either, said Glaucon. You were best then to put off to another time your design of enriching the republic, which you can never be able to do while you are ignorant both of its expenses and revenue. There is another way to enrich a state, said Glaucon, of which you take no notice, and that is by the ruin of its enemies. You are in the right, answered Socrates; but to this end it is necessary to be stronger than they, otherwise we shall run the hazard of losing what we have: he therefore who talks of undertaking a war, ought to know the

strength on both sides, to the end that if his party be the stronger he may boldly advise for war, and that if it be the weaker he may dissuade the people from engaging themselves in so dangerous an enterprise. All this is true. Tell me, then, continued Socrates, how strong our forces are by sea and land, and how strong are our enemies? Indeed, said Glaucon, I cannot tell you on a sudden. If you have a list of them in writing, pray show it me, I should be glad to hear it read. I have it not yet. I see, then, said Socrates, that we shall not engage in war so soon; for the greatness of the undertaking will hinder you from maturely weighing all the consequences of it in the beginning of your government. But, continued he, you have thought of the defence of the country; you know what garrisons are necessary, and what are not; you know what number of troops is sufficient in one, and not sufficient in another; you will cause the necessary garrisons to be reinforced, and will disband those that are useless? I should be of opinion, said Glaucon, to leave none of them on foot, because they ruin a country on pretence of defending it. But, Socrates objected, if all the garrisons were taken away, there would be nothing to hinder the first comer from carrying off what he pleased: but how come you to know that the garrisons behave themselves so ill? Have you been upon the place? have you seen them? Not at all: but I suspect it to be so. When therefore

we are certain of it, said Socrates, and can speak upon better grounds than simple conjectures, we will propose this advice to the senate. It may be well to do so, said Glaucon. It comes into my mind, too, continued Socrates, that you have never been at the mines of silver, to examine why they bring not in so much now as they did formerly. You say true, I have never been there. Indeed they say the place is very unhealthy, and that may excuse you. You rally me now, said Glaucon. Socrates added, but I believe you have at least observed how much corn our lands produce, how long it will serve to supply our city, and how much more we shall want for the whole year; to the end you may not be surprised with a scarcity of bread, but may give timely orders for the necessary provisions. There is a deal to do, said Glaucon, if we must take care of all these things. There is so, replied Socrates, and it is even impossible to manage our own families well, unless we know all that is wanting, and take care to provide it. As you see therefore that our city is composed of above ten thousand families, and it being a difficult task to watch over them all at once, why did you not first try to retrieve your uncle's affairs, which are running to decay, and after having given that proof of your industry, you might have taken a greater trust upon you? But now, when you find yourself incapable of aiding a

private man, how can you think of behaving yourself so as to be useful to a whole people? Ought a man who has not strength enough to carry a hundred pound weight, to undertake to carry a heavier burden? I would have done good service to my uncle, said Glaucon, if he would have taken my advice. How, replied Socrates, have you not hitherto been able to govern the mind of your uncle, and do you now believe yourself able to govern the minds of all the Athenians, and his among the rest? Take heed, my dear Glaucon, take heed lest too great a desire of power should render you despised: consider how dangerous it is to speak and entertain ourselves concerning things we do not understand: what a figure do those forward and rash people make in the world who do so; and judge yourself, whether they acquire more esteem than blame, whether they are more admired than contemned. Think, on the contrary, with how much honor a man is regarded who understands perfectly what he says and what he does, and then you will confess that renown and applause have always been the recompense of true merit, and shame the reward of ignorance and temerity. If therefore you would be honored, endeavor to be a man of true merit; and if you enter upon the government of the republic, with a mind more sagacious than usual, I shall not wonder if you succeed in all your designs.

Thus Socrates put a stop to the disorderly ambition of this man: but on an occasion quite contrary, he in the following manner exhorted Charmidas to take an employment. He was a man of sense, and more deserving than most others in the same post; but as he was of a modest disposition, he constantly declined, and made great difficulties of engaging himself in public business. Socrates therefore addressed himself to him in this manner: If you knew any man that could gain the prizes in the public games, and by that means render himself illustrious, and acquire glory to his country, what would you say of him if he refused to offer himself to the combat? I would say, answered Charmidas, that he was a mean-spirited effeminate fellow. And if a man were capable of governing a republic, of increasing its power by his advice, and of raising himself by this means to a high degree of honor, would you not brand him likewise with meanness of soul, if he would not present himself to be employed? Perhaps I might, said Charmidas; but why do you ask me this question? Socrates replied, because you are capable of managing the affairs of the republic; and nevertheless you avoid doing so, though in quality of a citizen you are *obliged* to take care of the commonwealth. Be no longer then thus negligent in this matter; consider your abilities and your duty with more attention, and let not slip the occasions of serving the republic, and of render-

ing it, if possible, more florishing than it is. This will be a blessing whose influence will descend not only on the other citizens, but on your best friends and yourself.

SELF-DENIAL NOT THE ESSENCE OF VIRTUE.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 324, Feb. 18, 1735.

IT is commonly asserted, that without self-denial there is no virtue, and that the greater the self-denial the greater the virtue.

If it were said, that he who cannot deny himself any thing he inclines to, though he knows it will be to his hurt, has not the virtue of resolution or fortitude, it would be intelligible enough, but as it stands it seems obscure or erroneous.

Let us consider some of the virtues singly.

If a man has no inclination to wrong people in his dealings, if he feels no temptation to it, and therefore never does it, can it be said that he is not a just man? If he is a just man, has he not the virtue of justice?

If to a certain man idle diversions have nothing in them that is tempting, and therefore he never relaxes his application to business for their sake, is he not an industrious man? Or, has he not the virtue of industry?

I might in like manner instance in all tho rest of the virtues; but, tc make the thing short, as it is certain that the more we strive against the tempta-

tion to any vice, and practise the contrary virtue, the weaker will that temptation be, and the stronger will be that habit, till at length the temptation has no force, or entirely vanishes; does it follow from thence, that in our endeavors to overcome vice we grow continually less and less virtuous, till at length we have no virtue at all?

If self-denial be the essence of virtue, then it follows, that the man who is naturally temperate, just, &c. is not virtuous; but that in order to be virtuous, he must, in spite of his natural inclinations, wrong his neighbors, and eat and drink, &c. to excess.

But perhaps it may be said, that by the word virtue in the above assertion, is meant merit; and so it should stand thus: without self-denial there is no merit, and the greater the self-denial the greater the merit.

The self-denial here meant, must be when our inclinations are towards vice, or else it would still be nonsense.

By merit is understood desert; and, when we say a man merits, we mean that he deserves praise or reward.

We do not pretend to merit any thing of God, for he is above our services; and the benefits he confers on us, are the effects of his goodness and bounty.

All our merit then is with regard to one another, and from one to another.

Taking then the assertion as it last stands,

If a man does me a service from a natural benevolent inclination, does he deserve less of me than another, who does me the like kindness against his inclination?

If I have two journeymen, one naturally industrious, the other idle, but both perform a day's work equally good, ought I to give the latter the most wages?

Indeed lazy workmen are commonly observed to be more extravagant in their demands than the industrious, for if they have not more for their work, they cannot live as well; but though it be true to a proverb, that lazy folks take the most pains, does it follow that they deserve the most money?

If you were to employ servants in affairs of trust, would you not bid more for one you knew was naturally honest, than for one naturally roguish, but who has lately acted honestly? for currents whose natural channel is dammed up, till the new course is by time worn sufficiently deep, and become natural, are apt to break their banks. If one servant is more valuable than another, has he not more merit than the other? and yet this is not on account of superior self-denial.

Is a patriot not praiseworthy if public spirit is natural to him?

Is a pacing-horse less valuable for being a natural pacer?

Nor, in my opinion, has any man less merit for having in general natural virtuous inclinations.

The truth is, that temperance, justice, charity, &c. are virtues, whether practised with, or against our inclinations, and the man who practises them, merits our love and esteem; and self-denial is neither good nor bad, but as it is applied: he that denies a vicious inclination, is virtuous in proportion to his resolution; but the most perfect virtue is above all temptation, such as the virtue of the saints in heaven; and he who does a foolish, indecent, or wicked thing, merely because it is contrary to his inclination (like some mad enthusiasts I have read of, who ran about naked, under the notion of taking up the cross), is not practising the reasonable science of virtue, but is a lunatic.

ON THE USEFULNESS OF THE MATHEMATICS.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 360, Oct. 30, 1735.

MATHEMATICS originally signifies any kind of discipline or learning, but now it is taken for that science which teaches or contemplates whatever is capable of being numbered or measured. That part of the mathematics which relates to numbers only, is called *arithmetic;* and that which is concerned about measure in general, whether length, breadth, motion, force, &c. is called *geometry.*

As to the usefulness of arithmetic, it is well-known that no business, commerce, trade, or em-

ployment whatsoever, even from the merchant to the shopkeeper, &c. can be managed and carried on without the assistance of numbers; for by these the trader computes the value of all sorts of goods that he dealeth in, does his business with ease and certainty, and informs himself how matters stand at any time with respect to men, money, or merchandise, to profit and loss, whether he goes forward or backward, grows richer or poorer. Neither is this science only useful to the merchant, but is reckoned the *primum mobile* (or first mover) of all mundane affairs in general, and is useful for all sorts and degrees of men, from the highest to the lowest.

As to the usefulness of geometry, it is as certain that no curious art, or mechanic work, can either be invented, improved, or performed, without its assisting principles.

It is owing to this, that astronomers are put into a way of making their observations, coming at the knowledge of the extent of the heavens, the duration of time, the motions, magnitudes, and distances of the heavenly bodies, their situations, positions, risings, settings, aspects, and eclipses; also the measure of seasons, of years, and of ages.

It is by the assistance of this science that geographers present to our view at once the magnitude and form of the whole earth, the vast extent of the seas, the divisions of empires, kingdoms, and provinces.

It is by the help of geometry the ingenious mariner is instructed how to guide a ship through the vast ocean, from one part of the earth to another, the nearest and safest way, and in the shortest time.

By help of this science the architects take their just measures for the structure of buildings, as private houses, churches, palaces, ships, fortifications, &c.

By its help engineers conduct all their works, take the situation and plan of towns, forts, and castles, measure their distances from one another, and carry their measure into places that are only accessible to the eye.

From hence also is deduced that admirable art of drawing sun-dials on any plane howsoever situate, and for any part of the world, to point out the exact time of the day, sun's declination, altitude, amplitude, azimuth, and other astronomical matters.

By geometry the surveyor is directed how to draw a map of any country, to divide his lands, and to lay down and plot any piece of ground, and thereby discover the area in acres, rods, and perches. The gauger is instructed how to find the capacities or solid contents of all kinds of vessels, in barrels, gallons, bushels, &c. And the measurer is furnished with rules for finding the areas and contents of superficies and solids, and casting up all manner of workmanship. All these, and many

more useful arts, too many to be enumerated here, wholly depend upon the aforesaid sciences, viz. arithmetic and geometry.

This science is descended from the infancy of the world, the inventors of which were the first propagators of human kind, as Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and divers others.

There has not been any science so much esteemed and honored as this of the mathematics, nor with so much industry and vigilance become the care of great men, and labored in by the potentates of the world, viz. emperors, kings, princes, &c.

Mathematical demonstrations are a logic of as much or more use, than that commonly learned at schools, serving to a just formation of the mind, enlarging its capacity, and strengthening it so as to render the same capable of exact reasoning, and discerning truth from falsehood in all occurrences, even subjects not mathematical. For which reason it is said, the Egyptians, Persians, and Lacedemonians, seldom elected any new kings, but such as had some knowledge in the mathematics, imagining those who had not men of imperfect judgments, and unfit to rule and govern.

Though Plato's censure, that those who did not understand the 117th proposition of the 13th book of Euclid's Elements, ought not to be ranked amongst rational creatures, was unreasonable and unjust; yet to give a man the character

of universal learning, who is destitute of a competent knowledge in the mathematics, is no less so.

The usefulness of some particular parts of the mathematics in the common affairs of human life, has rendered some knowledge of them very necessary to a great part of mankind, and very convenient to all the rest that are any way conversant beyond the limits of their own particular callings.

Those whom necessity has obliged to get their bread by manual industry, where some degree of art is required to go along with it, and who have had some insight into these studies, have very often found advantages from them sufficient to reward the pains they were at in acquiring them. And whatever may have been imputed to some other studies, under the notion of insignificancy and loss of time, yet these, I believe, never caused repentance in any, except it was for their remissness in the prosecution of them.

Philosophers do generally affirm that human knowledge to be most excellent, which is conversant amongst the most excellent things. What science then can there be more noble, more excellent, more useful for men, more admirably high and demonstrative, than this of the mathematics?

I shall conclude with what Plato says, *lib.* 7, of his Republic, with regard to the excellence and usefulness of geometry, being to this purpose:

" Dear Friend,—You see then that mathematics

are necessary, because by the exactness of the method, we get a habit of using our minds to the best advantage: and it is remarkable, that all men being capable by nature to reason and understand the sciences, the less acute, by studying this, though useless to them in every other respect, will gain this advantage, that their minds will be improved in reasoning aright; for no study employs it more, nor makes it susceptible of attention so much; and those who we find have a mind worth cultivating, ought to apply themselves to this study."

ON TRUE HAPPINESS.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 363, Nov. 20, 1735.

THE desire of happiness in general is so natural to us, that all the world are in pursuit of it; all have this one end in view, though they take such different methods to attain it, and are so much divided in their notions of it.

Evil, as evil, can never be chosen; and though evil is often the effect of our own choice, yet we never desire it, but under the appearance of an imaginary good.

Many things we indulge ourselves in may be considered by us as evils, and yet be desirable; but then they are only considered as evils in their effects and consequences, not as evils at present, and attended with immediate misery.

Reason represents things to us, not only as they

are at present, but as they are in their whole nature and tendency; passion only regards them in their former light: when this governs us, we are regardless of the future, and are only affected with the present.

It is impossible ever to enjoy ourselves rightly, if our conduct be not such as to preserve the harmony and order of our faculties, and the original frame and constitution of our minds; all true happiness, as all that is truly beautiful, can only result from order.

Whilst there is a conflict betwixt the two principles of passion and reason, we must be miserable in proportion to the struggle; and when the victory is gained, and reason so far subdued as seldom to trouble us with its remonstrances, the happiness we have then, is not the happiness of our rational nature, but the happiness only of the inferior and sensual part of us, and consequently a very low and imperfect happiness, to what the other would have afforded us.

If we reflect upon any one passion and disposition of mind, abstract from virtue, we shall soon see the disconnexion between that and true solid happiness. It is of the very essence, for instance, of envy to be uneasy and disquieted. Pride meets with provocations and disturbances upon almost every occasion. Covetousness is ever attended with solicitude and anxiety. Ambition has its disappointments to sour us, but never the

good fortune to satisfy us; its appetite grows the keener by indulgence, and all we can gratify it with at present serves but the more to inflame its insatiable desires.

The passions, by being too much conversant with earthly objects, can never fix in us a proper composure and acquiescence of mind. Nothing but an indifference to the things of this world, an entire submission to the will of Providence here, and a well-grounded expectation of happiness hereafter, can give us a true satisfactory enjoyment of ourselves. Virtue is the best guard against the many unavoidable evils incident to us; nothing better alleviates the weight of the afflictions, or gives a truer relish of the blessings of human life.

What is without us has not the least connexion with happiness, only so far as the preservation of our lives and health depends upon it. Health of body, though so far necessary that we cannot be perfectly happy without it, is not sufficient to make us happy of itself. Happiness springs immediately from the mind; health is but to be considered as a candidate or circumstance, without which this happiness cannot be tasted pure and unabated.

Virtue is the best preservative of health, as it prescribes temperance, and such a regulation of our passions as is most conducive to the well-being of the animal economy, so that it is, at the same time, the only true happiness of the mind and the best means of preserving the health of the body.

If our desires are to the things of this world, they are never to be satisfied: if our great view is upon those of the next, the expectation of them is an infinitely higher satisfaction than the enjoyment of those of the present.

There is no happiness, then, but in a virtuous and self-approving conduct; unless our actions will bear the test of our sober judgments, and reflections upon them, they are not the actions, and consequently not the happiness of a rational being.

ON DISCOVERIES.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 409, *Oct.* 14, 1736.

THE world but a few ages since, was in a very poor condition, as to trade and navigation; nor indeed were they much better in other matters of useful knowledge. It was a green-headed time; every useful improvement was hid from them; they had neither looked into heaven, nor earth, into the sea, nor land, as has been done since. They had philosophy without experiments, mathematics without instruments, geometry without scale, astronomy without demonstration.

They made war without powder, shot, cannon, or mortars; nay, the mob made their bonfires without squibs or crackers. They went to sea without compass, and sailed without the needle. They viewed the stars without telescopes, and measured latitudes without observation. Learn-

ing had no printing-press, writing no paper, and paper no ink: the lover was forced to send his mistress a deal board for a love-letter, and a billet-doux might be about the size of an ordinary trencher. They were clothed without manufacture, and their richest robes were the skins of the most formidable monsters: they carried on trade without books, and correspondence without posts: their merchants kept no accounts, their shopkeepers no cash-books; they had surgery without anatomy, and physicians without the *materia medica*: they gave emetics without ipecacuanha, drew blisters without cantharides, and cured agues without the bark.

As for geographical discoveries, they had neither seen the North Cape, nor the Cape of Good Hope south. All the discovered inhabited world, which they knew and conversed with, was circumscribed within very narrow limits, viz. France, Britain, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Greece; the lesser Asia, the west part of Persia, Arabia, the north parts of Africa, and the islands of the Mediterranean sea, and this was the whole world to them; not that even these countries were fully known either, and several parts of them not inquired into at all. Germany was known little further than the banks of the Elbe; Poland as little beyond the Vistula, or Hungary as little beyond the Danube; Muscovy or Russia perfectly unknown, as much as China beyond it; and India only by a little

commerce upon the coast, about Surat and Malabar; Africa had been more unknown, but by the ruin of the Carthaginians; all the western coast of it was sunk out of knowledge again, and forgotten; the northern coast of Africa, in the Mediterranean, remained known, and that was all; for the Saracens over-running the nations which were planted there, ruined commerce, as well as religion; the Baltic sea was not discovered, nor even the navigation of it known; for the Teutonic knights came not thither till the 13th century.

America was not heard of, nor so much as a suggestion in the minds of men that any part of the world lay that way. The coasts of Greenland, or Spitsbergen, and the whale fishing, not known; the best navigators in the world, at that time, would have fled from a whale, with much more fright and horror, than from the devil, in the most terrible shapes they had been told he appeared in.

The coasts of Angola, Congo, the Gold and the Grain coasts, on the west side of Africa, whence, since that time, such immense wealth has been drawn, not discovered, nor the least inquiry made after them. All the East-India and China trade, not only undiscovered, but out of the reach of expectation! Coffee and tea (those modern blessings of mankind) had never been heard of: all the unbounded ocean, we now call the South Sea, was hid, and unknown: all the Atlantic ocean beyond

the mouth of the Straits, was frightful and terrible in the distant prospect, nor durst any one peep into it, otherwise than as they might creep along the coast of Africa, towards Sallee, or Santa Cruz. The North Sea was hid in a veil of impenetrable darkness; the White Sea, or Archangel, was a very modern discovery; not found out till Sir Hugh Willoughby doubled the North Cape, and paid dear for the adventure, being frozen to death with all his crew, on the coast of Lapland; while his companions' ship, with the famous Mr. Chancellor, went on to the gulph of Russia, called the White Sea, where no Christian strangers had ever been before him.

In these narrow circumstances stood the world's knowledge at the beginning of the 15th century, when men of genius began to look abroad, and about them. Now, as it was wonderful to see a world so full of people, and people so capable of improving, yet so stupid and so blind, so ignorant and so perfectly unimproved, it was wonderful to see, with what a general alacrity they took the alarm, almost all together, preparing themselves as it were on a sudden, by a general inspiration, to spread knowledge through the earth, and to search into every thing that it was possible to uncover.

How surprising is it to look back, so little a way behind us, and see, that even in less than two

hundred years, all this (now so self-wise) part of the world did not so much as know whether there was any such place as a Russia, a China, a Guinea, a Greenland, or a North Cape! That as to America, it was never supposed there was any such place;[1] neither had the world, though they stood upon the shoulders of four thousand years' experience, the least thought, so much as that there was any land that way!

As they were ignorant of places, so of things also; so vast are the improvements of science, that all our knowledge of mathematics, of nature, of the brightest part of human wisdom, had their admission among us within these two last centuries.

What was the world, then, before? And to what were the heads and hands of mankind applied? The rich had no commerce, the poor no employment; war and the sword was the great field of honor, the stage of preferment; and you have scarce a man eminent in the world, for any thing before that time, but for a furious outrageous falling upon his fellow-creatures, like Nimrod, and his successors of modern memory.

The world is now daily increasing in experimental knowledge; and let no man flatter the age,

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[1] It is now supposed that *America* was actually discovered in the *eleventh* century by the Icelanders.—See Mallet's Northern Antiquities, vol. i., and Franklin's PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE, Part I.

with pretending we have arrived at a perfection of discoveries.

What's now discovered, only serves to show,
That nothing's known, to what is yet to know.

THE WASTE OF LIFE.

From the Pennsylvania Gazette, No. 404, *Nov.* 18, 1736.

ANERGUS was a gentleman of a good estate; he was bred to no business, and could not contrive how to waste his hours agreeably; he had no relish for any of the proper works of life, nor any taste at all for the improvements of the mind; he spent generally ten hours of the four-and-twenty in his bed; he dozed away two or three more on his couch, and as many were dissolved in good liquor every evening, if he met with company of his own humor. Five or six of the rest he sauntered away with much indolence: the chief business of them was to contrive his meals, and to feed his fancy before-hand with the promise of a dinner and supper; not that he was so absolute a glutton, or so entirely devoted to appetite; but chiefly because he knew not how to employ his thoughts better, he let them rove about the sustenance of his body. Thus he had made a shift to wear off ten years since the paternal estate fell into his hands: and yet, according to the abuse of words in our day, he was called a man of virtue, because he was

scarce ever known to be quite drunk, nor was his nature much inclined to lewdness.

One evening, as he was musing alone, his thoughts happened to take a most unusual turn, for they cast a glance backward, and began to reflect on his manner of life. He bethought himself what a number of living beings had been made a sacrifice to support his carcase, and how much corn and wine had been mingled with those offerings. He had not quite lost all the arithmetic that he had learned when he was a boy, and he set himself to compute what he had devoured since he came to the age of man.

"About a dozen of feathered creatures, small and great, have one week with another (said he) given up their lives to prolong mine, which in ten years amounts to at least six thousand.

"Fifty sheep have been sacrificed in a year, with half a hecatomb of black cattle, that I might have the choicest part offered weekly upon my table. Thus a thousand beasts out of the flock and the herd have been slain in ten years' time to feed me, besides what the forest has supplied me with. Many hundreds of fishes have, in all their varieties, been robbed of life for my repast, and of the smaller fry as many thousands.

"A measure of corn would hardly afford me fine flour enough for a month's provision, and this arises to above six score bushels; and many hogsheads of ale and wine, and other liquors, have

passed through this body of mine, this wretched strainer of meat and drink.

"And what have I done all this time for God or man? What a vast profusion of good things upon an useless life, and a worthless liver! There is not the meanest creature among all these which I have devoured, but hath answered the end of its creation better than I. It was made to support human nature, and it hath done so. Every crab and oyster I have eat, and every grain of corn I have devoured, hath filled up its place in the rank of beings with more propriety and honor than I have done: O shameful waste of life and time!"

In short, he carried on his moral reflections with so just and severe a force of reason as constrained him to change his whole course of life, to break off his follies at once, and to apply himself to gain some useful knowledge, when he was more than thirty years of age; he lived many following years, with the character of a worthy man, and an excellent Christian; he performed the kind offices of a good neighbor at home, and made a shining figure as a patriot in the senate-house; he died with a peaceful conscience, and the tears of his country were dropped upon his tomb.

The world, that knew the whole series of his life, stood amazed at the mighty change. They beheld him as a wonder of reformation, while he himself confessed and adored the Divine power and mercy which had transformed him from a brute to a man

But this was a single instance; and we may almost venture to write MIRACLE upon it. Are there not numbers of both sexes among our young gentry, in this degenerate age, whose lives thus run to utter waste, without the least tendency to usefulness?

When I meet with persons of such a worthless character as this, it brings to my mind some scraps of Horace:

"Nos numerus sumus, et fruges consumere nati.
——————————Alcinoique juventus,
Cui pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies," &c.

PARAPHRASE.

There are a number of us creep
Into this world, to eat and sleep;
And know no reason why they're born,
But merely to consume the corn,
Devour the cattle, fowl, and fish,
And leave behind an empty dish:
Tho' crows and ravens do the same,
Unlucky birds of hateful name;
Ravens or crows might fill their places,
And swallow corn and eat carcases.
Then if their tomb-stone, when they die,
Ben't taught to flatter and to lie,
There's nothing better will be said,
Than that they've eat up all their bread,
Drank all their drink, and gone to bed.

There are other fragments of that heathen poet, which occur on such occasions; one in the first of his Satires, the other in the last of his Epistles,

which seem to represent life only as a season of luxury.

"———— Exacto contentus tempore vitæ
Cedat uti conviva satur ————
Lusisti satis, edisti satis atque bibisti;
Tempus abire tibi."

Which may be thus put into English:

Life's but a feast: and when we die,
Horace would say, if he were by,
Friend, thou hast eat and drunk enough,
'Tis time now to be marching off:
Then like a well-fed guest depart,
With cheerful looks, and ease at heart;
Bid all your friends good night, and say,
You've done the business of the day.

ADVICE TO A YOUNG TRADESMAN, WRITTEN ANNO 1748.

To my Friend, A. B.

As you have desired it of me, I write the following hints, which have been of service to me, and may, if observed, be so to you.

Remember, that *time* is money. He that can earn ten shillings a-day by his labor, and goes abroad, or sits idle one half of that day, though he spends but sixpence during his diversion or idleness, ought not to reckon *that* the only expense; he has really spent, or rather thrown away, five shillings besides.

Remember, that *credit* is money. If a man lets his money lie in my hands after it is due, he gives

me the interest, or so much as I can make of it during that time. This amounts to a considerable sum where a man has good and large credit, and makes good use of it.

Remember, that money is of the prolific generating nature. Money can beget money, and its offspring can beget more, and so on. Five shillings turned is six, turned again it is seven and three-pence, and so on till it becomes an hundred pounds. The more there is of it, the more it produces every turning, so that the profits rise quicker and quicker. He that kills a breeding sow, destroys all her offspring to the thousandth generation. He that murders a crown, destroys all that it might have produced, even scores of pounds.

Remember, that six-pounds a-year is but a groat a-day. For this little sum (which may be daily wasted either in time or expense unperceived) a man of credit may, on his own security, have the constant possession and use of an hundred pounds. So much in stock, briskly turned by an industrious man, produces great advantage.

Remember this saying, "The good paymaster is lord of another man's purse." He that is known to pay punctually and exactly to the time he promises, may at any time, and on any occasion, raise all the money his friends can spare. This is sometimes of great use. After industry and frugality, nothing contributes more to the raising of a young man in the world than punctuality and jus-

tice in all his dealings: therefore, never keep borrowed money an hour beyond the time you promised, lest a disappointment shut up your friend's purse for ever.

The most trifling actions that affect a man's credit are to be regarded. The sound of your hammer at five in the morning, or nine at night, heard by a creditor, makes him easy six months longer: but if he sees you at a billiard-table, or hears your voice at a tavern, when you should be at work, he sends for his money the next day; demands it before he can receive it in a lump.

It shows, besides, that you are mindful of what you owe; it makes you appear a careful as well as an honest man, and that still increases your credit.

Beware of thinking all your own that you possess, and of living accordingly. It is a mistake that many people who have credit fall into. To prevent this, keep an exact account for some time, both of your expenses and your income. If you take the pains at first to mention particulars, it will have this good effect; you will discover how wonderfully small trifling expenses mount up to large sums, and will discern what might have been, and may for the future be saved, without occasioning any great inconvenience.

In short, the way to wealth, if you desire it, is as plain as the way to market. It depends chiefly on two words, *industry* and *frugality;* that is,

waste neither *time* nor *money*, but make the best use of both. Without industry and frugality nothing will do, and with them every thing. He that gets all he can honestly, and saves all he gets (necessary expenses excepted), will certainly become *rich*—if that Being who governs the world, to whom all should look for a blessing on their honest endeavors, doth not, in his wise providence, otherwise determine. AN OLD TRADESMAN.

NECESSARY HINTS TO THOSE THAT WOULD BE RICH.

THE use of money is all the advantage there is in having money.

For six pounds a-year you may have the use of one hundred pounds, provided you are a man of known prudence and honesty.

He that spends a groat a-day idly, spends idly above six pounds a-year, which is the price for the use of one hundred pounds.

He that wastes idly a groat's worth of his time per day, one day with another, wastes the privilege of using one hundred pounds each day.

He that idly loses five shillings' worth of time, loses five shillings, and might as prudently throw five shillings into the sea.

He that loses five shillings, not only loses that sum, but all the advantage that might be made by

turning it in dealing, which, by the time that a young man becomes old, will amount to a considerable sum of money.

Again: he that sells upon credit, asks a price for what he sells equivalent to the principal and interest of his money for the time he is to be kept out of it; therefore, he that buys upon credit, pays interest for what he buys, and he that pays ready money, might let that money out to use; so that he that possesses any thing he has bought, pays interest for the use of it.

Yet, in buying goods, it is best to pay ready money, because he that sells upon credit, expects to lose five per cent. by bad debts; therefore he charges on all he sells upon credit, an advance that shall make up that deficiency.

Those who pay for what they buy upon credit, pay their share of this advance.

He that pays ready money, escapes, or may escape, that charge.

> A penny sav'd is two-pence clear,
> A pin a-day's a groat a-year.

THE WAY TO MAKE MONEY PLENTY IN EVERY MAN'S POCKET.

At this time, when the general complaint is that "money is scarce," it will be an act of kindness to inform the moneyless how they may reinforce their

pockets. I will acquaint them with the true secret of money-catching, the certain way to fill empty purses, and how to keep them always full. Two simple rules, well observed, will do the business.

First, let honesty and industry be thy constant companions; and

Secondly, spend one penny less than thy clear gains.

Then shall thy hide-bound pocket soon begin to thrive, and will never again cry with the empty belly-ache; neither will creditors insult thee, nor want oppress, nor hunger bite, nor nakedness freeze thee. The whole hemisphere will shine brighter, and pleasure spring up in every corner of thy heart. Now, therefore, embrace these rules and be happy. Banish the bleak winds of sorrow from thy mind, and live independent. Then shalt thou be a man, and not hide thy face at the approach of the rich, nor suffer the pain of feeling little when the sons of fortune walk at thy right hand; for independency, whether with little or much, is good fortune, and placeth thee on even ground with the proudest of the golden fleece. Oh, then, be wise, and let industry walk with thee in the morning, and attend thee until thou reachest the evening hour for rest. Let honesty be as the breath of thy soul, and never forget to have a penny when all thy expenses are enumerated and paid; then shalt thou reach the point of happiness, and independence shall be thy shield and buckler,

thy helmet and crown; then shall thy soul walk upright, nor stoop to the silken wretch because he hath riches, nor pocket an abuse because the hand which offers it wears a ring set with diamonds.

THE WAY TO WEALTH, AS CLEARLY SHOWN IN THE PREFACE OF AN OLD PENNSYLVANIA ALMANAC, INTITLED, "POOR RICHARD IMPROVED."[1]

[*Referred to in Memoirs of the Life, Part II.*]

COURTEOUS READER,

I have heard, that nothing gives an author so great pleasure as to find his works respectfully quoted by others. Judge, then, how much I must have been gratified by an incident I am going to relate to you. I stopped my horse lately, where a great number of people were collected at an auction of merchants' goods. The hour of the sale not being come, they were conversing on the badness of the times; and one of the company called to a plain clean old man with

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[1] The origin and intent of this popular piece is fully explained by Dr. Franklin in the Memoirs of his Life. At the time of its first publication (in 1757) it was read with much avidity and profit by the people of America, and is supposed to have greatly contributed to the formation of that *national character* they have since exhibited.

white locks, "Pray, *Father Abraham*, what think you of the times? Will not these heavy taxes quite ruin the country? How shall we ever be able to pay them? What would you advise us to?"—*Father Abraham* stood up, and replied, "If you would have my advice, I will give it you in short; *For a word to the wise is enough*, as *Poor Richard* says." They joined in desiring him to speak his mind, and gathering round him, he proceeded as follows:

"Friends," said he, "the taxes are indeed very heavy, and if those laid on by the government were the only ones we had to pay, we might more easily discharge them; but we have many others, and much more grievous to some of us. We are taxed twice as much by our idleness, three times as much by our pride, and four times as much by our folly; and from these taxes the commissioners cannot ease or deliver us, by allowing an abatement. However, let us hearken to good advice, and something may be done for us; *God helps them that help themselves*, as *Poor Richard* says.

"I. It would be thought a hard government that should tax its people one-tenth part of their time, to be employed in its service: but idleness taxes many of us much more; sloth, by bringing on diseases, absolutely shortens life. *Sloth, like rust, consumes faster than labor wears; while the used key is always bright*, as *Poor Richard* says. *But dost thou love life, then do not squander time, for*

that is the stuff life is made of, as *Poor Richard* says. How much more than is necessary do we spend in sleep! forgetting, that *The sleeping fox catches no poultry, and that there will be sleeping enough in the grave*, as *Poor Richard* says.

"*If time be of all things the most precious, wasting time must be*, as *Poor Richard* says, *the greatest prodigality*; since, as he elsewhere tells us, *Lost time is never found again; and what we call time enough, always proves little enough*: let us then up and be doing, and doing to the purpose; so by diligence shall we do more with less perplexity. *Sloth makes all things difficult, but industry all easy; and he that riseth late must trot all day, and shall scarce overtake his business at night; while laziness travels so slowly, that poverty soon overtakes him. Drive thy business, let not that drive thee; and early to bed, and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise*, as *Poor Richard* says.

"So what signifies wishing and hoping for better times? We may make these times better if we bestir ourselves. *Industry need not wish, and he that lives upon hopes will die fasting. There are no gains without pains; then help hands, for I have no lands*; or, if I have, they are smartly taxed. *He that hath a trade, hath an estate; and he that hath a calling, hath an office of profit and honor*, as *Poor Richard* says; but then the trade must be worked at, and the calling followed, or neither the estate nor the office will enable us to pay our taxes. If

we are industrious we shall never starve; for, *At the working man's house, hunger looks in, but dares not enter.* Nor will the bailiff or the constable enter, for *Industry pays debts, while despair increaseth them.* What though you have found no treasure, nor has any rich relation left you a legacy, *Diligence is the mother of good luck, and God gives all things to industry. Then plough deep, while sluggards sleep, and you shall have corn to sell and to keep.* Work while it is called to-day, for you know not how much you may be hindered to-morrow. *One to-day is worth two to-morrows,* as *Poor Richard* says; and further, *Never leave that till to-morrow which you can do to-day.* If you were a servant, would you not be ashamed that a good master should catch you idle? Are you then your own master? be ashamed to catch yourself idle, when there is so much to be done for yourself, your family, your country, and your king. Handle your tools without mittens; remember that *The cat in gloves catches no mice,* as *Poor Richard* says. It is true there is much to be done, and perhaps you are weak-handed; but stick to it steadily, and you will see great effects; for *Constant dropping wears away stones; and by diligence and patience the mouse ate in two the cable; and little strokes fell great oaks.*

"Methinks I hear some of you say, 'Must a man afford himself no leisure?'—I will tell thee, my friend, what *Poor Richard* says, *Employ thy*

time well, if thou meanest to gain leisure ; and since thou art not sure of a minute, throw not away an hour. Leisure is time for doing something useful ; this leisure the diligent man will obtain, but the lazy man never ; for, *A life of leisure and a life of laziness are two things. Many, without labor, would live by their wits only, but they break for want of stock ;* whereas industry gives comfort, and plenty, and respect. *Fly pleasures, and they will follow you. The diligent spinner has a large shift ; and now I have a sheep and a cow, every body bids me good morrow.*

"II. But with our industry we must likewise be steady, settled, and careful, and oversee our own affairs with our own eyes, and not trust too much to others ; for, as *Poor Richard* says,

I never saw an oft-removed tree,
Nor yet an oft-removed family,
That throve so well as those that settled be.

And again, *Three removes are as bad as a fire ;* and again, *Keep thy shop, and thy shop will keep thee ;* and again, *If you would have your business done, go ; if not, send.* And again,

He that by the plough would thrive,
Himself must either hold or drive.

And again, *The eye of a master will do more work than both his hands ;* and again, *Want of care does us more damage than want of knowledge ;* and again, *Not to oversee workmen, is to leave them your purse*

open. Trusting too much to others' care is the ruin of many; for, *In the affairs of this world men are saved, not by faith, but by the want of it;* but a man's own care is profitable; for, *If you would have a faithful servant, and one that you like, serve yourself. A little neglect may breed great mischief: for want of a nail the shoe was lost; for want of a shoe the horse was lost; and for want of a horse the rider was lost, being overtaken and slain by the enemy; all for want of a little care about a horse-shoe nail.*

"III. So much for industry, my friends, and attention to one's own business; but to these we must add frugality, if we would make our industry more certainly successful. A man may, if he knows not how to save as he gets, keep his nose all his life to the grindstone, and die not worth a groat at last. *A fat kitchen makes a lean will;* and,

Many estates are spent in the getting,
Since women for tea forsook spinning and knitting,
And men for punch forsook hewing and splitting.

If you would be wealthy, think of saving as well as of getting. The Indies have not made Spain rich, because her outgoes are greater than her incomes.

"Away then with your expensive follies, and you will not then have so much cause to complain of hard times, heavy taxes, and chargeable families; for

Women and wine, game and deceit,
Make the wealth small and the want great

And further, *What maintains one vice, would bring up two children.* You may think, perhaps, that a little tea, or a little punch now and then, diet a little more costly, clothes a little finer, and a little entertainment now and then, can be no great matter; but remember, *Many a little makes a mickle.* Beware of little expenses; *A small leak will sink a great ship,* as *Poor Richard* says; and again, *Who dainties love, shall beggars prove;* and moreover, *Fools make feasts, and wise men eat them.*

"Here you are all got together at this sale of fineries and nick-nacks. You call them *goods;* but, if you do not take care, they will prove *evils* to some of you. You expect they will be sold cheap, and perhaps they may for less than they cost; but, if you have no occasion for them, they must be dear to you. Remember what *Poor Richard* says, *Buy what thou hast no need of, and ere long thou shalt sell thy necessaries.* And again, *At a great pennyworth pause a while.* He means, that perhaps the cheapness is apparent only, and not real; or the bargain, by straitening thee in thy business, may do thee more harm than good. For in another place he says, *Many have been ruined by buying good pennyworths.* Again, *It is foolish to lay out money in a purchase of repentance;* and yet this folly is practised every day at auctions, for want of minding the Almanack. Many a one, for the sake of finery on the back, have gone with a hungry belly and half-starved their families: *Silks*

and satins, scarlet and velvets, put out the kitchen fire, as *Poor Richard* says. These are not the necessaries of life; they can scarcely be called the conveniences; and yet, only because they look pretty, how many want to have them! By these, and other extravagancies, the genteel are reduced to poverty, and forced to borrow of those whom they formerly despised, but who, through industry and frugality, have maintained their standing; in which case it appears plainly, that, *A ploughman on his legs is higher than a gentleman on his knees,* as *Poor Richard* says. Perhaps they have had a small estate left them, which they knew not the getting of; they think *It is day, and will never be night;* that a little to be spent out of so much is not worth minding; but *Always taking out of the meal-tub, and never putting in, soon comes to the bottom,* as *Poor Richard* says; and then, *When the well is dry, they know the worth of water.* But this they might have known before, if they had taken his advice:—*If you would know the value of money, go and try to borrow some; for he that goes a borrowing goes a sorrowing,* as *Poor Richard* says; and indeed so does he that lends to such people, when he goes to get it in again.—*Poor Dick* further advises, and says,

Fond pride of dress is sure a very curse;
Ere fancy you consult, consult your purse.

And again, *Pride is as loud a beggar as Want, and*

a great deal more saucy. When you have bought one fine thing, you must buy ten more, that your appearance may be all of a piece; but *Poor Dick* says, *It is easier to suppress the first desire, than to satisfy all that follow it.* And it is as truly folly for the poor to ape the rich, as for the frog to swell in order to equal the ox.

Vessels large may venture more,
But little boats should keep near shore.

It is, however, a folly soon punished; for, as *Poor Richard* says, *Pride that dines on vanity, sups on contempt; Pride breakfasted with Plenty, dined with Poverty, and supped with Infamy.* And, after all, of what use is this pride of appearance, for which so much is risked, so much is suffered? It cannot promote health, nor ease pain; it makes no increase of merit in the person; it creates envy; it hastens misfortune.

"But what madness must it be to *run in debt* for these superfluities? We are offered by the terms of this sale, six months' credit; and that, perhaps, has induced some of us to attend it, because we cannot spare the ready money, and hope now to be fine without it. But, ah! think what you do when you run in debt; you give to another power over your liberty. If you cannot pay at the time, you will be ashamed to see your creditor; you will be in fear when you speak to him; you will make poor pitiful sneaking excuses, and, by de-

grees, come to lose your veracity, and sink into base downright lying; for, *The second vice is lying, the first is running in debt*, as *Poor Richard* says; and again, to the same purpose, *Lying rides upon Debt's back:* whereas a free-born Englishman ought not to be ashamed nor afraid to see or speak to any man living. But poverty often deprives a man of all spirit and virtue. *It is hard for an empty bag to stand upright.* What would you think of that prince, or of that government, who should issue an edict forbidding you to dress like a gentleman or gentlewoman, on pain of imprisonment or servitude? Would you not say that you were free, have a right to dress as you please, and that such an edict would be a breach of your privileges, and such a government tyrannical? And yet you are about to put yourself under such tyranny, when you run in debt for such dress! Your creditor has authority, at his pleasure, to deprive you of your liberty, by confining you in gaol till you shall be able to pay him. When you have got your bargain, you may, perhaps, think little of payment; but, as *Poor Richard* says, *Creditors have better memories than debtors; creditors are a superstitious sect, great observers of set days and times.* The day comes round before you are aware, and the demand is made before you are prepared to satisfy it: or, if you bear your debt in mind, the term, which at first seemed so long, will, as it lessens, appear extremely short: time will

seem to have added wings to his heels as well as his shoulders. *Those have a short Lent, who owe money to be paid at Easter.* At present, perhaps, you may think yourselves in thriving circumstances, and that you can bear a little extravagance without injury; but

For age and want save while you may,
No morning sun lasts a whole day.

Gain may be temporary and uncertain, but ever, while you live, expense is constant and certain; and, *It is easier to build two chimnies, than to keep one in fuel,* as *Poor Richard* says: *so, rather go to bed supperless, than rise in debt.*

Get what you can, and what you get hold:
'Tis the stone that will turn all your lead into gold.

And, when you have got the philosopher's stone, sure you will no longer complain of bad times, or the difficulty of paying taxes.

"IV. This doctrine, my friends, is reason and wisdom: but, after all, do not depend too much upon your own industry, and frugality, and prudence, though excellent things; for they may all be blasted, without the blessing of Heaven; and, therefore, ask that blessing humbly, and be not uncharitable to those that at present seem to want it, but comfort and help them. Remember, Job suffered, and was afterwards prosperous.

"And now, to conclude, *Experience keeps a dear school, but fools will learn in no other,* as *Poor Ri-*

chard says, and scarce in that; for, it is true, *We may give advice, but we cannot give conduct.* However, remember this, *They that will not be counselled, cannot be helped;* and further, that *If you will not hear Reason, she will surely rap your knuckles,* as *Poor Richard* says."

Thus the old gentleman ended his harangue. The people heard it and approved the doctrine; and immediately practised the contrary, just as if it had been a common sermon; for the auction opened, and they began to buy extravagantly.—— I found the good man had thoroughly studied my almanacks, and digested all I had dropt on these topics during the course of twenty-five years. The frequent mention he made of me must have tired any one else; but my vanity was wonderfully delighted with it, though I was conscious that not a tenth part of the wisdom was my own which he ascribed to me, but rather the gleanings that I had made of the sense of all ages and nations. However, I resolved to be the better for the echo of it; and, though I had at first determined to buy stuff for a new coat, I went away resolved to wear my old one a little longer. Reader, if thou wilt do the same, thy profit will be as great as mine. I am, as ever, thine to serve thee,

RICHARD SAUNDERS.

A THOUGHT CONCERNING THE MEDALS THAT ARE TO BE STRUCK BY ORDER OF CONGRESS.

The forming dies in steel, to strike medals or money, is generally with the intention of making a great number of the same form.

The engraving of those dies in steel is, from the hardness of the substance, very difficult and expensive; but once engraved, the great number to be easily produced afterwards by stamping justifies the expense, it being but small when divided among a number.

Where only one medal of a kind is wanted, it seems an unthrifty way to form dies for it in steel, to strike the two sides of it, the whole expense of the dies resting on that medal.

It was by this means that the medal voted by congress for M. Fleury cost one hundred guineas. When an engraving of the same figures and inscriptions might have been beautifully done on a plate of silver of the same size for two guineas.

The ancients, when they ordained a medal to record the memory of any laudable action, and do honor to the performer of that action, struck a vast number, and used them as money. By this means the honor was extended through their own and neighboring nations: every man who received or paid a piece of such money was reminded of the virtuous action, the person who performed it, and

the reward attending it: and the number gave such security to this kind of monuments, against perishing or being forgotten, that some of each of them exist to this day, though more than two thousand years old, and being now copied into books by the art of engraving and printing, are not only exceedingly multiplied, but likely to remain some thousands of years longer.

I therefore wish the medals of congress were ordered to be money, and so contrived as to be convenient money, by being in value aliquot parts of a dollar.

Copper coins are wanting in America for small change. We have none but those of the king of England. After one silver or gold medal is struck from the dies, for the person to be honored, they may be usefully employed in striking copper money, or in some cases small silver.

The nominal value of the pieces might be a little more than the real, to prevent their being melted down, but not so much more as to be an encouragement to counterfeiting. B. F.

PRECAUTIONS TO BE USED BY THOSE WHO ARE ABOUT TO UNDERTAKE A SEA VOYAGE.

When you intend to take a long voyage, nothing is better than to keep it a secret till the moment of your departure. Without this, you will be continually interrupted and tormented by visits from

friends and acquaintances, who not only make you lose your valuable time, but make you forget a thousand things which you wish to remember; so that when you are embarked, and fairly at sea, you recollect, with much uneasiness, affairs which you have not terminated, accounts that you have not settled, and a number of things which you proposed to carry with you, and which you find the want of every moment. Would it not be attended with the best consequences to reform such a custom, and to suffer a traveller, without deranging him, to make his preparations in quietness, to set apart a few days when these are finished, to take leave of his friends, and to receive their good wishes for his happy return?

It is not always in one's power to choose a captain; though great part of the pleasure and happiness of the passage depends upon this choice, and though one must for a time be confined to his company, and be in some measure under his command. If he is a social, sensible man, obliging, and of a good disposition, you will be so much the happier. One sometimes meets with people of this description, but they are not common; however, if yours be not of this number, if he be a good seaman, attentive, careful, and active in the management of his vessel, you must dispense with the rest, for these are essential qualities.

Whatever right you may have, by your agreement with him, to the provisions he has taken on

board for the use of the passengers, it is always proper to have some private store, which you may make use of occasionally. You ought, therefore, to provide good water, that of the ship being often bad; but you must put it into bottles, without which you cannot expect to preserve it sweet. You ought also to carry with you good tea, ground coffee, chocolate, wine of that sort which you like best, cyder, dried raisins, almonds, sugar, capillaire, citrons, rum, eggs dipped in oil, portable soup, bread twice baked. With regard to poultry, it is almost useless to carry any with you, unless you resolve to undertake the office of feeding and fattening them yourself. With the little care which is taken of them on board ship, they are almost all sickly, and their flesh is as tough as leather.

All sailors entertain an opinion, which has undoubtedly originated formerly from a want of water, and when it has been found necessary to be sparing of it, that poultry never know when they have drunk enough; and that when water is given them at discretion, they generally kill themselves by drinking beyond measure. In consequence of this opinion, they give them water only once in two days, and even then in small quantities: but as they pour this water into troughs inclining on one side, which occasions it to run to the lower part, it thence happens that they are obliged to mount one upon the back of another in order to reach it; and there are some which cannot even

dip their beaks in it. Thus continually tantalised and tormented by thirst, they are unable to digest their food, which is very dry, and they soon fall sick and die. Some of them are found thus every morning, and are thrown into the sea; whilst those which are killed for the table are scarcely fit to be eaten. To remedy this inconvenience, it will be necessary to divide their troughs into small compartments, in such a manner that each of them may be capable of containing water; but this is seldom or never done. On this account sheep and hogs are to be considered as the best fresh provision that one can have at sea; mutton there being in general very good, and pork excellent.

It may happen that some of the provisions and stores which I have recommended may become almost useless, by the care which the captain has taken to lay in a proper stock: but in such a case you may dispose of it to relieve the poor passengers, who, paying less for their passage, are stowed among the common sailors, and have no right to the captain's provisions, except such part of them as is used for feeding the crew. These passengers are sometimes sick, melancholy, and dejected; and there are often women and children among them, neither of whom have any opportunity of procuring those things which I have mentioned, and of which, perhaps, they have the greatest need. By distributing amongst them a part of your superfluity, you may be of the greatest assistance to

them. You may restore their health, save their lives, and in short render them happy; which always affords the liveliest sensation to a feeling mind.

The most disagreeable thing at sea is the cookery; for there is not, properly speaking, any professed cook on board. The worst sailor is generally chosen for that purpose, who for the most part is equally dirty. Hence comes the proverb used among the English sailors, that *God sends meat and the devil sends cooks.* Those, however, who have a better opinion of Providence, will think otherwise. Knowing that sea air, and the exercise or motion which they receive from the rolling of the ship, have a wonderful effect in whetting the appetite, they will say that Providence has given sailors bad cooks to prevent them from eating too much; or that, knowing they would have bad cooks, he has given them a good appetite to prevent them from dying with hunger. However, if you have no confidence in these succors of Providence, you may yourself, with a lamp and a boiler, by the help of a little spirits of wine, prepare some food, such as soup, hash, &c. A small oven made of tin plate is not a bad piece of furniture: your servant may roast in it a piece of mutton or pork. If you are ever tempted to eat salt beef, which is often very good, you will find that cyder is the best liquor to quench the thirst generally caused by salt meat or salt fish. Sea biscuit, which is too

hard for the teeth of some people, may be softened by steeping it; but bread double baked is the best; for being made of good loaf-bread cut into slices, and baked a second time, it readily imbibes water, becomes soft, and is easily digested: it consequently forms excellent nourishment, much superior to that of biscuit, which has not been fermented.

I must here observe, that this double-baked bread was originally the real biscuit prepared to keep at sea; for the word *biscuit*, in French, signifies twice baked.[1] Pease often boil badly, and do not become soft; in such case, by putting a two-pound shot into the kettle, the rolling of the vessel, by means of this bullet, will convert the pease into a kind of porridge, like mustard.

Having often seen soup, when put upon the table at sea in broad flat dishes, thrown out on every side by the rolling of the vessel, I have wished that our tinmen would make our soup-basons with divisions or compartments, forming small plates, proper for containing soup for one person only. By this disposition, the soup, in an extraordinary roll, would not be thrown out of the plate, and would not fall into the breasts of those who are at table, and scald them. Having entertained you with these things of little importance, permit me now to

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[1] It is derived from *bis* again, and *cuit* baked.

conclude with some general reflections upon navigation.

When navigation is employed only for transporting necessary provisions from one country, where they abound, to another where they are wanting; when by this it prevents famines, which were so frequent and so fatal before it was invented and became so common; we cannot help considering it as one of those arts which contribute most to the happiness of mankind. But when it is employed to transport things of no utility, or articles merely of luxury, it is then uncertain whether the advantages resulting from it are sufficient to counterbalance the misfortunes it occasions by exposing the lives of so many individuals upon the vast ocean. And when it is used to plunder vessels and transport slaves, it is evidently only the dreadful means of increasing those calamities which afflict human nature.

One is astonished to think on the number of vessels and men who are daily exposed in going to bring tea from China, coffee from Arabia, and sugar and tobacco from America; all commodities which our ancestors lived very well without. The sugar-trade employs nearly a thousand vessels; and that of tobacco almost the same number. With regard to the utility of tobacco, little can be said; and, with regard to sugar, how much more meritorious would it be to sacrifice the momentary pleasure which we receive from drinking it once or twice a

day in our tea, than to encourage the numberless cruelties that are continually exercised in order to procure it us!

A celebrated French moralist said, that, when he considered the wars which we foment in Africa to get negroes, the great number who of course perish in these wars; the multitude of those wretches who die in their passage, by disease, bad air, and bad provisions; and lastly, how many perish by the cruel treatment they meet with in a state of slavery; when he saw a bit of sugar, he could not help imagining it to be covered with spots of human blood. But, had he added to these considerations the wars which we carry on against one another, to take and retake the islands that produce this commodity, he would not have seen the sugar simply spotted with blood, he would have beheld it entirely tinged with it.

These wars make the maritime powers of Europe, and the inhabitants of Paris and London pay much dearer for their sugar than those of Vienna, though they are almost three hundred leagues distant from the sea. A pound of sugar, indeed, costs the former not only the price which they give for it, but also what they pay in taxes, necessary to support the fleets and armies which serve to defend and protect the countries that produce it.

INFORMATION TO THOSE WHO WOULD REMOVE TO AMERICA.

[*Referred to in Private Correspondence, part I. Letter to B. Vaughan, Esq. July* 26, 1784.]

Many persons in Europe having directly or by letters expressed to the writer of this, who is well acquainted with North America, their desire of transporting and establishing themselves in that country; but who appear to him to have formed, through ignorance, mistaken ideas and expectations of what is to be obtained there; he thinks it may be useful, and prevent inconvenient, expensive, and fruitless removals and voyages of improper persons, if he gives some clearer and truer notions of that part of the world than appear to have hitherto prevailed.

He finds it is imagined by numbers, that the inhabitants of North America are rich, capable of rewarding, and disposed to reward all sorts of ingenuity; that they are at the same time ignorant of all the sciences; and consequently that strangers possessing talents in the belles lettres, fine arts, &c. must be highly esteemed, and so well paid as to become easily rich themselves; that there are also abundance of profitable offices to be disposed of, which the natives are not qualified to fill; and that having few persons of family among them, strangers of birth must be greatly respected, and of course easily obtain the best of those offices which will

make all their fortunes: that the governments too, to encourage emigrations from Europe, not only pay the expense of personal transportation, but give lands gratis to strangers with negroes to work for them, utensils of husbandry, and stocks of cattle. These are all wild imaginations; and those who go to America with expectations founded upon them, will surely find themselves disappointed.

The truth is, that though there are in that country few people so miserable as the poor of Europe, there are also very few that in Europe would be called rich: it is rather a general happy mediocrity that prevails. There are few great proprietors of the soil, and few tenants; most people cultivate their own lands, or follow some handicraft or merchandise; very few rich enough to live idly upon their rents or incomes, or to pay the high prices given in Europe for paintings, statues, and the other works of art that are more curious than useful. Hence the natural geniuses that have arisen in America with such talents have universally quitted that country for Europe, where they can be more suitably rewarded. It is true that letters and mathematical knowledge are in esteem there, but they are at the same time more common than is apprehended; there being already existing nine colleges or universities, viz. four in New England, and one in each of the provinces of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, all furnished with learned professors; besides

a number of smaller academies. These educate many of their youth in the languages and those sciences that qualify men for the professions of divinity, law, or physic. Strangers are indeed by no means excluded from exercising those professions, and the quick increase of inhabitants everywhere gives them chance of employ, which they have in common with the natives. Of civil offices or employments there are few; no superfluous ones as in Europe; and it is a rule established in some of the states, that no office should be so profitable as to make it desirable. The 36th article of the constitution of Pennsylvania runs expressly in these words: "As every freeman, to preserve his independence, (if he has not a sufficient estate) ought to have some profession, calling, trade, or farm, whereby he may honestly subsist, there can be no necessity for, nor use in establishing, offices of profit; the usual effects of which are dependence and servility unbecoming freemen, in the possessors and expectants; faction, contention, corruption, and disorder, among the people. Wherefore, whenever an office, through increase of fees or otherwise, becomes so profitable as to occasion many to apply for it, the profits ought to be lessened by the legislature." These ideas prevailing more or less in all the United States, it cannot be worth any man's while, who has a means of living at home, to expatriate himself in hopes of obtaining a profitable civil office in America; and as to

military offices, they are at an end with the war, the armies being disbanded. Much less is it advisable for a person to go thither, who has no other quality to recommend him but his birth. In Europe indeed it has its value, but it is a commodity that cannot be carried to a worse market than to that of America, where people do not inquire concerning a stranger, *What* IS *he?* but, *What can he* DO? If he has any useful art he is welcome, and if he exercises it and behaves well, he will be respected by all that know him; but a mere man of quality, who on that account wants to live upon the public by some office or salary, will be despised and disregarded. The husbandman is in honor there, and even the mechanic, because their employments are useful. The people have a saying, that "God Almighty is himself a mechanic, the greatest in the universe, and he is respected and admired more for the variety, ingenuity, and usefulness of his handyworks, than for the antiquity of his family." They are pleased with the observation of a negro, and frequently mention it, that "Boccarorra" (meaning the white men) "make de black man workee, make de horse workee, make de ox workee, make ebery ting workee, only de hog. He, de hog, no workee; he eat, he drink, he walk about about, he go to sleep when he please, *he libb like a gentleman.*" According to these opinions of the Americans, one of them would think himself more obliged to a genealogist

who could prove for him, that his ancestors and relations for ten generations had been ploughmen, smiths, carpenters, turners, weavers, tanners, or even shoemakers, and consequently that they were useful members of society; than if he could only prove that they were gentlemen, doing nothing of value, but living idly on the labor of others, mere *fruges consumere nati*,[1] and otherwise *good* for *nothing*, till by their death, their estates, like the carcase of the negro's gentleman-hog, come to be *cut up*.

With regard to encouragements for strangers, they are really only what are derived from good laws and liberty. Strangers are welcome because there is room enough for them all, and therefore the old inhabitants are not jealous of them; the laws protect them sufficiently, so that they have no need of the patronage of great men; and every one will enjoy securely the profits of his industry. But if he does not bring a fortune with him, he must work and be industrious to live. One or two years' residence gives him all the rights of a citizen: but the government does not at present, whatever it may have done in former times, hire people to become settlers, by paying their passages, giving lands, negroes, utensils, stock, or any other kind of emolument whatsoever. In short, America is

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[1] There are a number of us born.
Merely to eat up the corn. WATTS.

the land of labor, and by no means what the English call *Lubberland*, and the French *Pays de Cocagne*, where the streets are said to be paved with half-peck loaves, the houses tiled with pancakes, and where the fowls fly about ready roasted, crying, *come eat me!*

Who, then, are the kind of persons to whom an emigration to America may be advantageous? and what are the advantages they may reasonably expect?

Land being cheap in that country, from the vast forests still void of inhabitants, and not likely to be occupied in an age to come, insomuch that the propriety of an hundred acres of fertile soil full of wood may be obtained near the frontiers in many places for eight or ten guineas, hearty young laboring men, who understand husbandry of corn and cattle, which is nearly the same in that country as in Europe, may easily establish themselves there. A little money saved of the good wages they receive there while they work for others, enables them to buy the land and begin their plantation, in which they are assisted by the good-will of their neighbors and some credit. Multitudes of poor people from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Germany, have by this means in a few years become wealthy farmers, who in their own countries, where all the lands are fully occupied, and the wages of labor low, could never have emerged from the mean condition wherein they were born.

From the salubrity of the air, the healthiness of the climate, the plenty of good provisions, and the encouragement to early marriages, by the certainty of subsistence in cultivating the earth, the increase of inhabitants by natural generation is very rapid in America, and becomes more so by the accession of strangers; hence there is a continual demand for more artisans of all the necessary and useful kinds to supply those cultivators of the earth with houses and with furniture, and utensils of the grosser sorts, which cannot so well be brought from Europe. Tolerably good workmen in any of those mechanic arts are sure to find employ, and to be well paid for their work, there being no restraints preventing strangers from exercising any art they understand, nor any permission necessary. If they are poor, they begin first as servants, or journeymen; and if they are sober, industrious, and frugal, they soon become masters, establish themselves in business, marry, raise families, and become respectable citizens.

Lastly, persons of moderate fortunes and capitals, who having a number of children to provide for, are desirous of bringing them up to industry, and to secure estates for their posterity, have opportunities of doing it in America, which Europe does not afford. There they may be taught and practise profitably mechanic arts, without incurring disgrace on that account; but on the contrary, acquiring respect by such abilities. There small

capitals laid out in lands, which daily become more valuable by the increase of people, affords a solid prospect of ample fortunes thereafter for those children. The writer of this has known several large tracts of land bought on what was then the frontier of Pennsylvania, for ten pounds per hundred acres, which, after 20 years, when the settlement had been extended far beyond them, sold readily, without any improvement made upon them, for three pounds per acre. The acre in America is the same with the English acre or the acre of Normandy.

Those who desire to understand the state of government in America, would do well to read the Constitutions of the several states, and the Articles of Confederation that bind the whole together for general purposes, under the direction of one assembly called the Congress. These Constitutions have been printed by order of Congress in America; two editions of them have also been printed in London, and a good translation of them into French has lately been published at Paris.

Several of the princes of Europe having of late years, from an opinion of advantage to arise by producing all commodities and manufactures within their own dominions, so as to diminish or render useless their importations, have endeavored to entice workmen from other countries by high salaries, privileges, &c. Many persons pretending to be skilled in various manufactures, imagining that

America must be in want of them, and that Congress would probably be disposed to imitate the princes above mentioned, have proposed to go over on condition of having their passages paid, lands given, salaries appointed, exclusive privileges for terms of years, &c. &c. Such persons, on reading the Articles of Confederation, will find that the Congress have no power committed to them, or money put into their hands for such purposes; and that if any such encouragement is given, it must be by the government of some separate state. This however has rarely been done in America; and when it has been done it has rarely succeeded, so as to establish a manufacture which the country was not yet so ripe for as to encourage private persons to set it up, labor being generally too dear there and hands difficult to be kept together, every one desiring to be a master, and the cheapness of lands inclining many to leave trades for agriculture. Some indeed have met with success and are carried on with advantage; but they are generally such as require only a few hands, or wherein great part of the work is performed by machines. Things that are bulky and of so small value as not well to bear the expense of freight, may often be made cheaper in the country than they can be imported; and the manufacture of such things will be profitable wherever there is a sufficient demand. The farmers in America produce indeed a good deal of wool and flax; and

none is exported; it is all worked up; but it is in the way of domestic manufacture for the use of the family. The buying up quantities of wool and flax with the design to employ spinners, weavers, &c. and form great establishments, producing quantities of linen and woollen goods for sale, has been several times attempted in different provinces; but those projects have generally failed, goods of equal value being imported cheaper. And when the governments have been solicited to support such schemes by encouragements in money, or by imposing duties on importation of such goods, it has been generally refused, on this principle, that if the country is ripe for the manufacture, it may be carried on by private persons to advantage; and if not, it is a folly to think of forcing nature. Great establishments of manufacture require great numbers of poor to do the work for small wages; these poor are to be found in Europe, but will not be found in America, till the lands are all taken up and cultivated, and the excess of people who cannot get land want employment. The manufacture of silk, they say, is natural in France, as that of cloth in England, because each country produces in plenty the first material: but if England will have a manufacture of silk as well as that of cloth, and France one of cloth as well as that of silk, these unnatural operations must be supported by mutual prohibitions, or higher duties on the importation of each other's

goods, by which means the workmen are enabled to tax the home consumer by greater prices, while the higher wages they receive makes them neither happier nor richer, since they only drink more, and work less. Therefore the governments in America do nothing to encourage such projects. The people by this means are not imposed on either by the merchant or mechanic: if the merchant demands too much profit on imported shoes, they buy of the shoemaker; and if he asks too high a price, they take them of the merchant. Thus the two professions are checks on each other. The shoemaker, however, has on the whole a considerable profit upon his labor in America, beyond what he had in Europe, as he can add to his price a sum nearly equal to all the expense of freight and commission, risk or insurance, &c. necessarily charged by the merchant. And the case is the same with the workmen in every other mechanic art. Hence it is that artisans generally live better and more easily in America than in Europe, and such as are good economists make a comfortable provision for age and for their children: such may therefore remove with advantage to America.

In the old long settled countries of Europe all arts, trades, professions, farms, &c. are so full, that it is difficult for a poor man who has children, to place them where they may gain, or learn to gain a decent livelihood. The artisans who fear creat-

ing future rivals in business, refuse to take apprentices, but upon conditions of money, maintenance, and the like, which the parents are unable to comply with. Hence the youth are brought up in ignorance of every gainful art, and obliged to become soldiers, or servants, or thieves, for a subsistence. In America the rapid increase of inhabitants takes away that fear of rivalship, and artisans willingly receive apprentices from the hope of profit by their labor during the remainder of the time stipulated after they shall be instructed. Hence it is easy for poor families to get their children instructed; for the artisans are so desirous of apprentices, that many of them will even give money to the parents to have boys from ten to fifteen years of age bound apprentices to them till the age of twenty-one; and many poor parents have, by that means, on their arrival in the country, raised money enough to buy land sufficient to establish themselves, and to subsist the rest of their family by agriculture. These contracts for apprentices are made before a magistrate, who regulates the agreement according to reason and justice, and having in view the formation of a future useful citizen, obliges the master to engage by a written indenture, not only that during the time of service stipulated the apprentice shall be duly provided with meat, drink, apparel, washing, and lodging, and at its expiration with a complete new suit of clothes, but also that he shall be taught

to read, write, and cast accounts, and that he shall be well instructed in the art or profession of his master, or some other, by which he may afterwards gain a livelihood, and be able in his turn to raise a family. A copy of this indenture is given to the apprentice or his friends, and the magistrate keeps a record of it, to which recourse may be had in case of failure by the master in any point of performance. This desire among the masters to have more hands employed in working for them, induces them to pay the passages of young persons, of both sexes, who on their arrival agree to serve them, one, two, three, or four years; those who have already learnt a trade agreeing for a shorter time, in proportion to their skill and the consequent immediate value of their service; and those who have none, agreeing for a longer term, in consideration of being taught an art their poverty would not permit them to acquire in their own country.

The almost general mediocrity of fortune that prevails in America obliging its people to follow some business for subsistence, those vices that arise usually from idleness, are in a great measure prevented. Industry and constant employment are great preservatives of the morals and virtue of a nation. Hence bad examples to youth are more rare in America, which must be a comfortable consideration to parents. To this may be truly added, that serious religion under its various deno-

minations, is not only tolerated, but respected and practised. Atheism is unknown there, infidelity rare and secret, so that persons may live to a great age in that country without having their piety shocked by meeting with either an atheist, or an infidel. And the Divine Being seems to have manifested his approbation of the mutual forbearance and kindness with which the different sects treat each other, by the remarkable prosperity with which he has been pleased to favor the whole country.

THE INTERNAL STATE OF AMERICA, 1784;

[*Complaint of hard times—and motives for being thankful.*]

There is a tradition, that, in the planting of New England, the first settlers met with many difficulties and hardships; as is generally the case when a civilised people attempt establishing themselves in a wilderness country. Being piously disposed, they sought relief from heaven, by laying their wants and distresses before the Lord, in frequent set days of fasting and prayer. Constant meditation and discourse on these subjects kept their minds gloomy and discontented; and, like the children of Israel, there were many disposed to return to that Egypt, which persecution had induced them to abandon. At length, when it was proposed in the assembly to proclaim another fast, a farmer of plain sense rose, and remarked,

that the inconveniencies they suffered, and concerning which they had so often wearied heaven with their complaints, were not so great as they might have expected, and were diminishing every day as the colony strengthened; that the earth began to reward their labor, and to furnish liberally for their subsistence; that the seas and rivers were found full of fish, the air sweet, the climate healthy; and, above all, that they were there in the full enjoyment of liberty, civil and religious; he therefore thought, that reflecting and conversing on these subjects would be more comfortable, as tending more to make them contented with their situation; and that it would be more becoming the gratitude they owed to the Divine Being, if, *instead of a fast, they should proclaim a thanksgiving.* His advice was taken; and from that day to this they have, in every year, observed circumstances of public felicity sufficient to furnish employment for a thanksgiving day; which is therefore constantly ordered and religiously observed.

I see in the public newspapers of different states frequent complaints of *hard times, deadness of trade, scarcity of money, &c.* It is not my intention to assert or maintain, that these complaints are entirely without foundation. There can be no country or nation existing, in which there will not be some people so circumstanced as to find it hard to gain a livelihood; people who are not in the way of any profitable trade, and with whom money is

scarce, because they have nothing to give in exchange for it: and it is always in the power of a small number to make a great clamor. But let us take a cool view of the general state of our affairs, and perhaps the prospect will appear less gloomy than has been imagined.

The great business of the continent is AGRICULTURE. For one artisan, or merchant, I suppose, we have at least one hundred farmers, by far the greatest part cultivators of their own fertile lands, whence many of them draw not only the food necessary for their subsistence, but the materials of their clothing, so as to need very few foreign supplies; while they have a surplus of productions to dispose of, whereby wealth is gradually accumulated. Such has been the goodness of Divine Providence to these regions, and so favorable the climate, that since the three or four years of hardship in the first settlement of our fathers here, a famine or scarcity has never been heard of amongst us; on the contrary, though some years may have been more, and others less plentiful, there has always been provision enough for ourselves, and a quantity to spare for exportation. And although the crops of last year were generally good, never was the farmer better paid for the part he can spare commerce, as the published price currents abundantly testify. The lands he possesses are also continually rising in value with the increase of population; and, on the whole, he is enabled to

give such good wages to those who work for him, that all who are acquainted with the old world must agree, that in no part of it are the laboring poor so generall[illegible] well clothed, well lodged, an[illegible] ne United States of America.

If we enter the cities, we find that, since the revolution, the owners of houses and lots of ground have had their interest greatly augmented in value; rents have risen to an astonishing height, and thence encouragement to increase building, which gives employment to an abundance of workmen, as does also the increased luxury and splendor of living of the inhabitants, thus made richer. These workmen all demand and obtain much higher wages than any other part of the world would afford them, and are paid in ready money. This class of people therefore do not, or ought not, to complain of hard times; and they make a very considerable part of the city inhabitants.

At the distance I live from our American fisheries, I cannot speak of them with any degree of certainty; but I have not heard, that the labor of the valuable race of men employed in them is worse paid, or that they meet with less success, than before the revolution. The whale-men, indeed, have been deprived of one market for their oil; but another, I hear, is opening for them, which it is hoped may be equally advantageous; and the demand is constantly increasing for their sperma-

ceti candles which therefore bear a higher pri[illegible] than forme[illegible]

There re[illegible] the merchants and shopkeepers. Of these, thou[illegible] y make but a [illegible] part of the whole nation, th[illegible] : too great indeed for the business they are employed in; for the consumption of goods in every country has its limits; the faculties of the people, that is, their ability to buy and pay, being equal only to a certain quantity of merchandise. If merchants calculate amiss on this proportion, and import too much, they will of course find the sale dull for the overplus, and some of them will say, that trade languishes. They should, and doubtless will, grow wiser by experience, and import less. If too many artificers in town, and farmers from the country, flattering themselves with the idea of leading easier lives, turn shopkeepers, the whole natural quantity of that business divided among them all may afford too small a share for each, and occasion complaints, that trade is dead; these may also suppose, that it is owing to scarcity of money, while in fact, it is not so much from the fewness of the buyers, as from the excessive numbers of sellers, that the mischief arises; and, if every shopkeeping farmer and mechanic would return to the use of his plough and working tools, there would remain of widows, and other women, shopkeepers sufficient for the business, which might then afford them a comfortable maintenance.

Whoever has travelled through the various parts of Europe, and observed how small is the proportion of people in affluence or easy circumstances there, compared with those in poverty and misery; the few rich and haughty landlords, the multitude of poor, abject, rack-rented, tythe-paying tenants, and half-paid and half-starved ragged laborers; and views here the happy mediocrity, that so generally prevails throughout the states, where the cultivator works for himself, and supports his family in decent plenty, will, methinks, see an abundant reason to bless Divine Providence for the evident and great difference in our favor, and be convinced, that no nation known to us enjoys a greater share of human felicity.

It is true, that in some of the states there are parties and discords; but let us look back, and ask if we were ever without them? Such will exist wherever there is liberty; and perhaps they help to preserve it. By the collision of different sentiments, sparks of truth are struck out, and political light is obtained. The different factions, which at present divide us, aim all at the public good: the differences are only about the various modes of promoting it. Things, actions, measures, and objects of all kinds, present themselves to the minds of men in such a variety of lights, that it is not possible we should all think alike at the same time on every subject, when hardly the same man retains at all times the same ideas of it. Parties are there-

fore the common lot of humanity; and ours are by no means more mischievous or less beneficial than those of other countries, nations, and ages, enjoying in the same degree the great blessing of political liberty.

Some indeed among us are not so much grieved for the present state of our affairs, as apprehensive for the future. The growth of luxury alarms them, and they think we are from that alone in the high road to ruin. They observe, that no revenue is sufficient without economy, and that the most plentiful income of a whole people from the natural productions of their country may be dissipated in vain and needless expenses, and poverty be introduced in the place of affluence. This may be possible. It however rarely happens: for there seems to be in every nation a greater proportion of industry and frugality, which tend to enrich, than of idleness and prodigality, which occasion poverty; so that upon the whole there is a continual accumulation. Reflect what Spain, Gaul, Germany, and Britain were in the time of the Romans, inhabited by people little richer than our savages; and consider the wealth they at present possess, in numerous well-built cities, improved farms, rich moveables, magazines stocked with valuable manufactures, to say nothing of plate, jewels, and coined money; and all this, notwithstanding their bad, wasteful, plundering governments, and their mad destructive wars; and yet luxury and extra-

vagant living have never suffered much restraint in those countries. Then consider the great proportion of industrious frugal farmers inhabiting the interior parts of these American states, and of whom the body of our nation consists, and judge whether it is possible that the luxury of our seaports can be sufficient to ruin such a country.—If the importation of foreign luxuries could ruin a people, we should probably have been ruined long ago; for the British nation claimed a right, and practised it, of importing among us not only the superfluities of their own production, but those of every nation under heaven; we bought and consumed them, and yet we florished and grew rich. At present our independent governments may do what we could not then do, discourage by heavy duties, or prevent by heavy prohibitions, such importations, and thereby grow richer; if, indeed, which may admit of dispute, the desire of adorning ourselves with fine clothes, possessing fine furniture, with elegant houses, &c. is not, by strongly inciting to labor and industry, the occasion of producing a greater value than is consumed in the gratification of that desire.

The agriculture and fisheries of the United States are the great sources of our increasing wealth. He that puts a seed into the earth is recompensed, perhaps, by receiving forty out of it; and he who draws a fish out of our water, draws up a piece of silver.

Let us (and there is no doubt but we shall) be attentive to these, and then the power of rivals, with all their restraining and prohibiting acts, cannot much hurt us. We are sons of the earth and seas, and like Antæus in the fable, if in wrestling with a Hercules, we now and then receive a fall, the touch of our parents will communicate to us fresh strength and vigor to renew the contest.

REMARKS CONCERNING THE SAVAGES OF NORTH AMERICA, 1784.

Savages we call them, because their manners differ from ours, which we think the perfection of civility. They think the same of theirs.

Perhaps if we could examine the manners of different nations with impartiality, we should find no people so rude as to be without any rules of politeness, nor any so polite as not to have some remains of rudeness.

The Indian men when young, are hunters and warriors; when old, counsellors; for all their government is by counsel of the sages; there is no force, there are no officers to compel obedience, or inflict punishment. Hence, they generally study oratory; the best speaker having the most influence. The Indian women till the ground, dress the food, nurse and bring up the children, and preserve and hand down to posterity the memory

of public transactions. The employments of men and women are accounted natural and honorable having few artificial wants, they have abundance of leisure for improvement by conversation. Our laborious manner of life compared with theirs, they esteem slavish and base; and the learning on which we value ourselves, they regard as frivolous and useless. An instance of this occurred at the treaty of Lancaster in Pennsylvania, anno 1744, between the government of Virginia and the Six Nations. After the principal business was settled, the commissioners from Virginia acquainted the Indians by a speech, that there was at Williamsburg a college, with a fund for educating youth; and that if the Six Nations would send half a dozen of their young lads to that college, the government would take care they should be well provided for, and instructed in all the learning of the white people. It is one of the Indian rules of politeness not to answer a public proposition on the same day that it is made; they think it would be treating it as a light matter, and that they show it respect by taking time to consider it, as of a matter important. They therefore deferred their answer till the day following; when their speaker began by expressing their deep sense of the kindness of the Virginian government in making them that offer; "For we know," says he, "that you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in those

colleges, and that the maintenance of our young men with you, would be very expensive to you. We are convinced therefore that you mean to do us good by your proposal, and we thank you heartily. But you who are wise must know, that different nations have different conceptions of things, and you will therefore not take it amiss if our ideas of this kind of education happen not to be the same with yours. We have had some experience of it: several of our young people were formerly brought up at the colleges of the northern provinces; they were instructed in all your sciences; but when they came back to us they were bad runners, ignorant of every means of living in the woods, unable to bear either cold or hunger, knew neither how to build a cabin, take a deer, or kill an enemy; spoke our language imperfectly; were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors, or counsellors; they were totally good for nothing. We are however not the less obliged by your kind offer, though we decline accepting it; and to show our grateful sense of it, if the gentlemen of Virginia will send us a dozen of their sons, we will take great care of their education, instruct them in all we know, and *make men of them*."

Having frequent occasions to hold public councils, they have acquired great order and decency in conducting them. The old men sit in the foremost ranks, the warriors in the next, and the

women and children in the hindmost. The business of the women is to take exact notice of what passes, imprint it in their memories (for they have no writing), and communicate it to their children. They are the records of the council, and they preserve traditions of the stipulations in treaties 100 years back, which, when we compare with our writings, we always find exact. He that would speak, rises: the rest observe a profound silence. When he has finished, and sits down, they leave him five or six minutes to recollect, that if he has omitted any thing he intended to say, or has any thing to add, he may rise again and deliver it. To interrupt another, even in common conversation, is reckoned highly indecent. How different this is from the conduct of a polite British House of Commons, where scarce a day passes without some confusion that makes the speaker hoarse in calling to order! and how different from the mode of conversation in the polite companies of Europe, where, if you do not deliver your sentence with great rapidity, you are cut off in the middle of it by the impatient loquacity of those you converse with, and never suffered to finish it!

The politeness of these savages in conversation is, indeed, carried to excess, since it does not permit them to contradict or deny the truth of what is asserted in their presence. By this means they indeed avoid disputes, but then it becomes difficult to know their minds, or what impression you make

upon them. The missionaries who have attempted to convert them to Christianity, all complain of this as one of the greatest difficulties of their mission. The Indians hear with patience the truths of the gospel explained to them, and give their usual tokens of assent or approbation: you would think they were convinced. No such matter—it is mere civility. A Swedish minister having assembled the chiefs of the Susquehannah Indians, made a sermon to them, acquainting them with the principal historical facts on which our religion is founded; such as the fall of our first parents by eating an apple, the coming of Christ to repair the mischief, his miracles and suffering, &c. When he had finished, an Indian orator stood up to thank him. "What you have told us," says he, "is all very good. It is bad to eat apples. It is better to make them all into cyder. We are much obliged by your kindness in coming so far to tell us these things, which you have heard from your mothers; in return, I will tell you some of those we have heard from ours. In the beginning our fathers had only the flesh of animals to subsist on: and, if their hunting was unsuccessful, they were starving. Two of our young hunters having killed a deer, made a fire in the woods to broil some part of it. When they were about to satisfy their hunger, they beheld a beautiful young woman descend from the clouds, and seat herself on that hill which you see yonder among the blue moun-

tains. They said to each other, it is a spirit that perhaps has smelt our broiling venison, and wishes to eat of it: let us offer some to her. They presented her with the tongue: she was pleased with the taste of it, and said, your kindness shall be rewarded. Come to this place after thirteen moons, and you shall find something that will be of great benefit in nourishing you and your children to the latest generations. They did so, and to their great surprise found plants they had never seen before, but which, from that ancient time, have been constantly cultivated among us to our great advantage. Where her right hand had touched the ground, they found maize; where her left hand had touched it, they found kidney-beans; and, where her backside had rested on it, they found tobacco." The good missionary, disgusted with this idle tale, said, "What I delivered to you were sacred truths; but what you tell me is mere fable, fiction, and falsehood." The Indian, offended, replied, "My brother, it seems your friends have not done you justice in your education; they have not well instructed you in the rules of common civility. You saw that we, who understand and practise those rules, believed all your stories: why do you refuse to believe ours?"

When any of them come into our towns, our people are apt to crowd round them, gaze upon them, and incommode them where they desire to be private; this they esteem great rudeness, and

the effect of want of instruction in the rules of civility and good manners. "We have," say they, "as much curiosity as you, and when you come into our towns we wish for opportunities of looking at you; but for this purpose we hide ourselves behind bushes where you are to pass, and never intrude ourselves into your company."

Their manner of entering one another's villages has likewise its rules. It is reckoned uncivil in travelling strangers to enter a village abruptly, without giving notice of their approach. Therefore, as soon as they arrive within hearing, they stop and halloo, remaining there till invited to enter. Two old men usually come out to them, and lead them in. There is, in every village, a vacant dwelling called the stranger's house. Here they are placed while the old men go round from hut to hut, acquainting the inhabitants that strangers are arrived, who are probably hungry and weary, and every one sends them what they can spare of victuals, and skins to repose on. When the strangers are refreshed, pipes and tobacco are brought; and then, not before, conversation begins, with inquiries who they are, whither bound, what news, &c.; and it usually ends with offers of service, if the strangers have occasion for guides, or any necessaries for continuing their journey; and nothing is exacted for the entertainment.

The same hospitality, esteemed among them as a principal virtue, is practised by private persons,

of which Conrad Weiser, our interpreter, gave me the following instance. He had been naturalised among the Six Nations, and spoke well the Mohock language. In going through the Indian country, to carry a message from our governor to the council at Onondaga, he called at the habitation of Canasetego, an old acquaintance, who embraced him, spread furs for him to sit on, placed before him some boiled beans and venison, and mixed some rum and water for his drink. When he was well refreshed, and had lit his pipe, Canasetego began to converse with him, asked him how he had fared the many years since they had seen each other, whence he then came, what occasioned the journey, &c. &c. Conrad answered all his questions; and, when the discourse began to flag, the Indian, to continue it, said:—"Conrad, you have lived long among the white people, and know something of their customs. I have been sometimes at Albany, and have observed that once in seven days they shut up their shops, and assemble all in the great house; tell me, what is it for? what do they do there?" "They meet there," said Conrad, "to hear and learn good things." "I do not doubt," said the Indian, "that they tell you so; they have told me the same; but I doubt the truth of what they say, and I will tell you my reasons. I went lately to Albany to sell my skins, and buy blankets, knives, powder, rum, &c. You know I used generally to deal with

Hans Hanson, but I was a little inclined this time to try some other merchant: however, I called first upon Hans, and asked him what he would give for beaver. He said he would not give more than four shillings a pound; 'but,' said he, 'I cannot talk on business now; this is the day when we meet together to learn good things, and I am going to the meeting.' So I thought to myself, since we cannot do any business to-day, I may as well go to the meeting too; and I went with him. There stood up a man in black, and began to talk to the people very angrily. I did not understand what he said; but, perceiving that he looked much at me and at Hanson, I imagined he was angry at seeing me there; so I went out, sat down near the house, struck fire, and lit my pipe, waiting till the meeting should break up. I thought too that the man had mentioned something of beaver, and I suspected it might be the subject of their meeting. So, when they came out, I accosted my merchant: 'Well, Hans,' said I, 'I hope you have agreed to give more than four shillings a pound.' 'No,' said he, 'I cannot give so much: I cannot give more than three shillings and sixpence.' I then spoke to several other dealers, but they all sung the same song,—'three and sixpence—three and sixpence.' This made it clear to me that my suspicion was right; and that whatever they pretend of meeting to learn good things, the real purpose was to consult how to cheat Indians in the price

of beaver. Consider but a little, Conrad, and you must be of my opinion. If they met so often to learn good things, they would certainly have learnt some before this time: but they are still ignorant. You know our practice: if a white man, in travelling through our country, enters one of our cabins, we all treat him as I treat you; we dry him if he is wet, we warm him if he is cold, we give him meat and drink, that he may allay his thirst and hunger, and spread soft furs for him to rest and sleep on. We demand nothing in return.[1] But, if I go into a white man's house at Albany, and ask for victuals and drink, they say, 'Where is your money?' and, if I have none, they say, 'Get out, you Indian dog!' You see they have not yet learnt those little good things that we need no meetings to be instructed in, because our mothers taught them to us when we were children; and, therefore, it is impossible their meetings should be, as they say, for any such purpose, or have any

[1] It is remarkable that in all ages and countries, hospitality has been allowed as the virtue of those whom the civilised were pleased to call *barbarians.* The Greeks celebrated the Scythians for it; the Saracens possessed it eminently; and it is to this day the reigning virtue of the wild Arabs. St. Paul, too, in his relation of his voyage and shipwreck on the island of Melita, says, "*the barbarous people showed us no little kindness: for they kindled a fire, and received us every one, because of the present rain, and because of the cold.*"—Acts, chap. 27.

such effect: they are only to contrive *the cheating of Indians in the price of beaver.*"

OBSERVATIONS ON MAYZ, OR INDIAN CORN.

It is remarked in North America, that the English farmers when they first arrive there, finding a soil and climate proper for the husbandry they have been accustomed to, and particularly suitable for raising wheat, they despise and neglect the culture of mayz, or Indian corn; but observing the advantage it affords their neighbors, the older inhabitants, they by degrees get more and more into the practice of raising it; and the face of the country shows from time to time that the culture of that grain goes on visibly augmenting.

The inducements are, the many different ways in which it may be prepared, so as to afford a wholesome and pleasing nourishment to men, and other animals. 1st. The family can begin to make use of it before the time of full harvest; for the tender green ears, stripped of their leaves, and roasted by a quick fire till the grain is brown, and eaten with a little salt or butter, are a delicacy. 2dly. When the grain is ripe and harder, the ears boiled in their leaves and eaten with butter, are also good and agreeable food. The tender green grains dried, may be kept all the year, and, mixed

with green *haricots*,[1] also dried, make at any time a pleasing dish, being first soaked some hours in water, and then boiled. When the grain is ripe and hard, there are also several ways of using it. One is to soak it all night in a *lessive* or lye, and then pound it in a large wooden mortar with a wooden pestle; the skin of each grain is by that means skinned off, and the farinaceous part left whole, which being boiled swells into a white soft pulp, and eaten with milk, or with butter and sugar, is delicious. The dry grain is also sometimes ground loosely, so as to be broke into pieces of the size of rice, and being winnowed to separate the bran, it is then boiled and eaten with turkies or other fowls, as rice. Ground into a finer meal, they make of it by boiling a hasty-pudding, or *bouilli*, to be eaten with milk, or with butter and sugar; this resembles what the Italians call *polenta*. They make of the same meal with water and salt, a hasty cake, which being stuck against a hoe or other flat iron, is placed erect before the fire, and so baked, to be used as bread. Broth is also agreeably thickened with the same meal. They also parch it in this manner. An iron pot is filled with sand, and set on the fire till the sand is very hot. Two or three pounds of the grain are then thrown in, and well mixed with the sand by stirring. Each grain bursts and throws out a

[1] Kidney beans.

white substance of twice its bigness. The sand is separated by a wire sieve, and returned into the pot, to be again heated and repeat the operation with fresh grain. That which is parched is pounded to a powder in mortars. This being sifted, will keep long for use. An Indian will travel far and subsist long on a small bag of it, taking only six or eight ounces of it per day, mixed with water. The flour of *mayz*, mixed with that of wheat, makes excellent bread, sweeter and more agreeable than that of wheat alone. To feed horses, it is good to soak the grain twelve hours: they mash it easier with their teeth, and it yields them more nourishment. The leaves, stripped off the stalks after the grain is ripe, tied up in bundles when dry, are excellent forage for horses, cows, &c. The stalks pressed like sugar-cane, yield a sweet juice, which being fermented and distilled, yields an excellent spirit; boiled without fermentation, it affords a pleasant syrup. In Mexico, fields are sown with it thick, that multitudes of small stalks may arise, which being cut from time to time like asparagus, are served in deserts, and their sweet juice extracted in the mouth by chewing them. The meal wetted is excellent food for young chickens, and the whole grain for grown fowls.

SKETCH OF AN ENGLISH SCHOOL, FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE PHILADELPHIA ACADEMY.

It is expected that every scholar to be admitted into this school, be at least able to pronounce and divide the syllables in reading, and to write a legible hand. None to be received that are under years of age.

FIRST, OR LOWEST CLASS.

Let the first class learn the English Grammar Rules, and at the same time let particular care be taken to improve them in orthography. Perhaps the latter is best done by pairing the scholars; two of those nearest equal in their spelling to be put together. Let these strive for victory; each propounding ten words every day to the other to be spelled. He that spells truly most of the other's words is victor for that day; he that is victor most days in a month, to obtain a prize, a pretty neat book of some kind, useful in their future studies. This method fixes the attention of children extremely to the orthography of words, and makes them good spellers very early. It is a shame for a man to be so ignorant of this little art, in his own language, as to be perpetually confounding words of like sound and different significations; the consciousness of which defect makes some men, otherwise of good learning and understanding, averse to writing even a common letter.

Let the pieces read by the scholars in this class be short; such as Croxall's fables, and little stories. In giving the lesson, let it be read to them: let the meaning of the difficult words in it be explained to them; and let them con over by themselves before they are called to read to the master or usher, who is to take particular care that they do not read too fast, and that they duly observe the stops and pauses. A vocabulary of the most usual difficult words might be formed for their use, with explanations; and they might daily get a few of those words and explanations by heart, which would a little exercise their memories; or at least they might write a number of them in a small book for the purpose, which would help to fix the meaning of those words in their minds, and at the same time furnish every one with a little dictionary for his future use.

THE SECOND CLASS

To be taught reading with attention, and with proper modulations of the voice, according to the sentiment and the subject.

Some short pieces, not exceeding the length of a Spectator, to be given this class for lessons (and some of the easier Spectators would be very suitable for the purpose). These lessons might be given every night as tasks; the scholars to study them against the morning. Let it then be required of them to give an account, first of the parts of

speech, and construction of one or two sentences. This will oblige them to recur frequently to their grammar, and fix its principal rules in their memory. Next, of the intention of the writer, or the scope of the piece, the meaning of each sentence, and of every uncommon word. This would early acquaint them with the meaning and force of words, and give them that most necessary habit of reading with attention.

The master then to read the piece with the proper modulations of voice, due emphasis, and suitable action, where action is required; and put the youth on imitating his manner.

Where the author has used an expression not the best, let it be pointed out; and let his beauties be particularly remarked to the youth.

Let the lessons for reading be varied, that the youth may be made acquainted with good styles of all kinds, in prose and verse, and the proper manner of reading each kind—sometimes a well-told story, a piece of a sermon, a general's speech to his soldiers, a speech in a tragedy, some part of a comedy, an ode, a satire, a letter, blank verse, Hudibrastic, heroic, &c. But let such lessons be chosen for reading, as contain some useful instruction, whereby the understanding or morals of the youth may at the same time be improved.

It is required that they should first study and understand the lessons, before they are put upon reading them properly; to which end each boy

should have an English dictionary, to help him over difficulties. When our boys read English to us, we are apt to imagine they understand what they read, because we do, and because it is their mother tongue. But they often read, as parrots speak, knowing little or nothing of the meaning. And it is impossible a reader should give the due modulation to his voice, and pronounce properly, unless his understanding goes before his tongue, and makes him master of the sentiment. Accustoming boys to read aloud what they do not first understand, is the cause of those even set tones, so common among readers, which, when they have once got a habit of using, they find so difficult to correct; by which means, among fifty readers, we scarcely find a good one. For want of good reading, pieces published with a view to influence the minds of men, for their own or the public benefit, lose half their force. Were there but one good reader in a neighborhood, a public orator might be heard throughout a nation with the same advantages, and have the same effect upon his audience, as if they stood within the reach of his voice.

THE THIRD CLASS

To be taught speaking properly and gracefully; which is near a-kin to good reading, and naturally follows it in the studies of youth. Let the scholars of this class begin with learning the elements of rhetoric from some short system, so as to be able

to give an account of the most useful tropes and figures. Let all their bad habits of speaking, all offences against good grammar, all corrupt or foreign accents, and all improper phrases, be pointed out to them. Short speeches from the Romans, or other history, or from the parliamentary debates, might be got by heart, and delivered with the proper action, &c. Speeches and scenes in our best tragedies and comedies (avoiding every thing that could injure the morals of youth) might likewise be got by rote, and the boys exercised in delivering or acting them: great care being taken to form their manner after the truest models.

For their farther improvement, and a little to vary their studies, let them now begin to read history, after having got by heart a short table of the principal epochas in chronology. They may begin with Rollin's ancient and Roman histories, and proceed at proper hours, as they go through the subsequent classes, with the best histories of our own nation and colonies. Let emulation be excited among the boys by giving, weekly, little prizes, or other small encouragements, to those who are able to give the best account of what they have read, as to time, places, names of persons, &c. This will make them read with attention, and imprint the history well in their memories. In remarking on the history, the master will have fine opportunities of instilling instruction of various kinds, and improving the morals as well as the understandings of youth.

The natural and mechanic history, contained in the Spectacle de la Nature, might also be begun in this class, and continued through the subsequent classes, by other books of the same kind; for, next to the knowledge of duty, this kind of knowledge is certainly the most useful, as well as the most entertaining. The merchant may thereby be enabled better to understand many commodities in trade; the handicraftsman to improve his business, by new instruments, mixtures, and materials; and frequently hints are given for new manufactures, or new methods of improving land, that may be set on foot greatly to the advantage of a country.

THE FOURTH CLASS

To be taught composition. Writing one's own language well is the next necessary accomplishment after good speaking. It is the writing-master's business to take care that the boys make fair characters, and place them straight and even in the lines: but to form their style, and even to take care that the stops and capitals are properly disposed, is the part of the English master. The boys should be put on writing letters to each other on any common occurrences, and on various subjects, imaginary business, &c. containing little stories, accounts of their late reading, what parts of authors please them, and why; letters of congratulation, of compliment, of request, of thanks, of recommendation, of admonition, of consolation, of expostulation, excuse, &c. In these they should be taught to express

themselves clearly, concisely, and naturally, without affected words or high-flown phrases. All their letters to pass through the master's hand, who is to point out the faults, advise the corrections, and commend what he finds right. Some of the best letters published in our own language, as Sir William Temple's, those of Pope and his friends, and some others, might be set before the youth as models, their beauties pointed out and explained by the master, the letters themselves transcribed by the scholar.

Dr. Johnson's Ethices Elementa, or First Principles of Morality, may now be read by the scholars, and explained by the master, to lay a solid foundation of virtue and piety in their minds. And as this class continues the reading of history, let them now, at proper hours, receive some farther instruction in chronology, and in that part of geography (from the mathematical master) which is necessary to understand the maps and globes. They should also be acquainted with the modern names of the places they find mentioned in ancient writers. The exercises of good reading, and proper speaking, still continued at suitable times.

FIFTH CLASS.

To improve the youth in composition, they may now, besides continuing to write letters, begin to write little essays in prose, and sometimes in verse; not to make them poets, but for this reason, that

nothing acquaints a lad so speedily with variety of expression as the necessity of finding such words and phrases as will suit the measure, sound, and rhyme of verse, and at the same time well express the sentiment. These essays should all pass under the master's eye, who will point out their faults, and put the writer on correcting them. Where the judgment is not ripe enough for forming new essays, let the sentiments of a Spectator be given, and required to be clothed in the scholar's own words; or the circumstances of some good story, the scholar to find expression. Let them be put sometimes on abridging a paragraph of a diffuse author; sometimes on dilating or amplifying what is wrote more closely. And now let Dr. Johnson's Noetica, or First Principles of Human Knowledge, containing a logic, or art of reasoning, &c. be read by the youth, and the difficulties that may occur to them be explained by the master. The reading of history, and the exercises of good reading and just speaking still continued.

SIXTH CLASS.

In this class, besides continuing the studies of the preceding in history, rhetoric, logic, moral and natural philosophy, the best English authors may be read and explained; as Tillotson, Milton, Locke, Addison, Pope, Swift, the higher papers in the Spectator and Guardian, the best translations of

Homer, Virgil, and Horace, of Telemachus, Travels of Cyrus, &c.

Once a-year let there be public exercises in the hall; the trustees and citizens present. Then let fine gilt books be given as prizes to such boys as distinguish themselves and excel the others in any branch of learning, making three degrees of comparison; giving the best prize to him that performs best, a less valuable one to him that comes up next to the best, and another to the third: commendations, encouragement, and advice to the rest; keeping up their hopes, that by industry they may excel another time. The names of those that obtain the prize to be yearly printed in a list.

The hours of each day are to be divided and disposed in such a manner, as that some classes may be with the writing master, improving their hands; others with the mathematical master, learning arithmetic, accounts, geography, use of the globes, drawing, mechanics, &c.; while the rest are in the English school, under the English master's care.

Thus instructed, youth will come out of this school fitted for learning any business, calling, or profession, except such wherein languages are required: and, though unacquainted with any ancient or foreign tongue, they will be masters of their own, which is of more immediate and general use, and withal will have attained many other valuable accomplishments: the time usually spent

in acquiring those languages, often without success, being here employed in laying such a foundation of knowledge and ability as, properly improved, may qualify them to pass through and execute the several offices of civil life, with advantage and reputation to themselves and country.

OBSERVATIONS RELATIVE TO THE INTENTIONS OF THE ORIGINAL FOUNDERS OF THE ACADEMY IN PHILADELPHIA. *June*, 1789.

As the English school in the academy has been, and still continues to be, a subject of dispute and discussion among the trustees since the restitution of the charter, and it has been proposed that we should have some regard to the original intention of the founders in establishing that school, I beg leave, for your information, to lay before you what I know of that matter originally, and what I find on the minutes relating to it, by which it will appear how far the design of that school has been adhered to or neglected.

Having acquired some little reputation among my fellow-citizens, by projecting the public library in 1732, and obtaining the subscriptions by which it was established; and by proposing and promoting, with success, sundry other schemes of utility, in 1749; I was encouraged to hazard another project, that of a public education for our

youth. As in the scheme of the library I had provided only for English books, so in this new scheme my ideas went no farther than to procure the means of a good English education. A number of my friends, to whom I communicated the proposal, concurred with me in these ideas; but Mr. Allen, Mr. Francis, Mr. Peters, and some other persons of wealth and learning, whose subscriptions and countenance we should need, being of opinion that it ought to include the learned languages, I submitted my judgment to theirs, retaining however a strong prepossession in favor of my first plan, and resolving to preserve as much of it as I could, and to nourish the English school by every means in my power.

Before I went about to procure subscriptions, I thought it proper to prepare the minds of the people by a pamphlet, which I wrote, and printed, and distributed with my newspapers, gratis. The title was, *Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania.* I happen to have preserved one of them; and, by reading a few passages, it will appear how much the English learning was insisted upon in it; and I had good reason to know that this was a prevailing part of the motives for subscribing with most of the original benefactors.[1]

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[1] 'That the Rector be a man of good understanding, good morals, diligent and patient, learned in the languages and sciences, and a correct pure speaker and writer of the *English* tongue; to have such tutors under him as shall be necessary.

I met with but few refusals in soliciting the subscriptions; and the sum was the more considera-

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The English language might be taught by grammar; in which some of our best writers, as *Tillotson*, *Addison*, *Pope*, *Algernon Sidney*, *Cato's* letters, &c. should be classics: the *styles* principally to be cultivated, being the *clear* and the *concise*. Reading should also be taught, and pronouncing properly, distinctly, emphatically; not with an even tone, which *under-does*, nor a theatrical, which *over-does* nature.

Mr. *Locke*, speaking of *grammar*, p. 252, says, "That to those the greatest part of whose business in this world is to be done with their tongue, and with their pens, it is convenient, if not necessary, that they should speak properly and correctly, whereby they may let their thoughts into other men's minds the more easily, and with the greater impression. Upon this account it is, that any sort of speaking, so as will make him be understood, is not thought enough for a gentleman. He ought to study *grammar*, among the other helps of speaking well; but it *must be* the grammar of his own tongue, of the language he uses, that he may understand his own country speech nicely, and speak it properly, without shocking the ears of those it is addressed to with solecisms and offensive irregularities. And to this purpose *grammar is necessary*; but it is the grammar *only of their own proper tongues*, and to those who would take pains in cultivating their language, and perfecting their styles. Whether all gentlemen should not do this, I leave to be considered, since the want of propriety and grammatical exactness is thought very misbecoming one of that rank, and usually draws on one guilty of such faults, the imputation of having had a lower breeding and worse company than suit with his quality. If this be so (as I suppose it is), it will be matter of wonder, why young gentlemen are forced to learn the grammars of foreign and dead languages, and are never once told of the grammar of their own tongues. They do not so much as know

ble as I had put the contribution on this footing, that it was not to be immediate, and the whole

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there is any such thing, much less is it made their business to be instructed in it. Nor is their own language ever proposed to them as worthy their care and cultivating, though they have *daily use* of it, and are not seldom in the future course of their lives judged of by their handsome or awkward way of expressing themselves in it. Whereas the languages whose grammars they have been so much employed in, are such as probably they shall scarce ever speak or write; or if upon occasion this should happen, they should be excused for the mistakes and faults they make in it. Would not a *Chinese*, who took notice of this way of breeding, be apt to imagine, that all our young gentlemen were designed to be teachers and professors of the dead languages of foreign countries, and not to be men of business in their own?"

Page 255, the same author adds, "That if grammar ought to be taught at any time, it must be to one that can speak the language already; how else can he be taught the grammar of it? This at least is evident from the practice of the wise and learned nations among the ancients. They made it a *part of education* to cultivate *their own*, not foreign tongues. The *Greeks* counted all other nations barbarous, and had a contempt for their languages. And though the Greek learning grew in credit among the *Romans* towards the end of their commonwealth, yet it was the Roman tongue that was made the study of their youth: *their own* language they were to make use of, and therefore it was *their own* language they were *instructed* and *exercised* in." And p. 281, "There can scarce be a greater defect (says he) in a gentleman, than not to express himself well either in writing or speaking. But yet I think I may ask the reader, whether he doth not know a great many, who live upon their estates, and so, with the name, should have the qualities of gentlemen, who cannot so much as tell a story as they should,

paid at once, but in parts, a fifth annually during five years. To put the machine in motion, twenty-

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much less speak clearly and persuasively in any business. This I think not to be so much their fault as the *fault of their education*." Thus far *Locke*.

Monsieur *Rollin* reckons the neglect of teaching their own tongue a great fault in the *French* universities. He spends great part of his first volume of *Belles Lettres* on that subject; and lays down some excellent rules or methods of teaching *French* to *Frenchmen* grammatically, and making them masters therein, which are very applicable to our language, but too long to be inserted here. He practised them on the youth under his care with great success.

Mr. *Hutchinson*, Dial. p. 297, says, "To perfect them in the knowledge of their mother tongue, they should learn it in the grammatical way, that they not only speak it purely, but be able both to correct their own idiom, and afterwards enrich the language on the same foundation."

Dr. *Turnbull*, in his Observations on a liberal Education, says, p. 262, "The *Greeks*, perhaps, made more early advances in the most useful sciences than any youth have done since, chiefly on this account, that they studied no other language but their own. This no doubt saved them very much time; but they *applied themselves carefully* to the study of *their own* language, and were *early* able to speak and write it in *the greatest perfection*. The *Roman* youth, though they learned the *Greek*, did not neglect their own tongue, but studied it more carefully than we now do *Greek* and *Latin*, without giving ourselves any trouble about our own tongue."

Monsieur *Simon*, in an elegant Discourse of his among the Memoirs of the Academy of *Belles Lettres* at *Paris*, speaking of the stress the *Romans* laid on purity of language and graceful pronunciation, adds, "May I here make a reflection on the education we commonly give our children? It is very remote

four of the principal subscribers agreed to take upon themselves the trust; and a set of constitu-

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from the precepts I have mentioned. Hath the child arrived to six or seven years of age, he mixes with a herd of ill-bred boys at school, where, under the pretext of teaching him *Latin*, no regard is had to his *mother tongue*: And what happens? What we see every day. A young gentleman of eighteen, who has had this education, cannot read. For to articulate the words, and join them together, I do not call *reading*, unless one can pronounce well, observe all the proper stops, vary the voice, express the sentiment, and read with a delicate intelligence. Nor can he speak a jot better. A proof of this is that he cannot write ten lines without committing gross faults; and because he did not learn his own language well in his early years, he will never know it well: I except a few, who being afterwards engaged by their profession, or their natural taste, cultivate their minds by study. And yet even they, if they attempt to write, will find by the *labor* composition costs them, what a *loss it is*, not to have learned their language in the proper season. Education among the *Romans* was upon a quite different footing. Masters of rhetoric taught them early the principles, the difficulties, the beauties, the subtleties, the depths, the riches of their own language. When they went from these schools, they were perfect masters of it, they were never at a loss for proper expressions; and I am much deceived if it was not owing to this, that they produced such excellent works with so *marvellous facility*."

Pliny, in his letter to a lady on choosing a tutor for her son, speaks of it as the most material thing in his education, that he should have a good *Latin* master of rhetoric, and recommends *Julius Genitor* for his *eloquent, open, and plain faculty of speaking*. He does not advise her to a *Greek* master of rhetoric, though the *Greeks* were famous for that science; but to a *Latin* master, because *Latin* was the boy's mothes tongue-

tions for their government, and for the regulation of the schools, were drawn up by Mr. Francis and

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In the above quotation from Monsieur *Simon*, we see what was the office and duty of the master of rhetoric.

To form their style, they should be put on writing letters to each other, making abstracts of what they read; or writing the same things in their own words; telling or writing stories lately read, in their own expressions. All to be revised and corrected by the tutor, who should give his reasons, explain the force and import of words, &c.

This Mr. *Locke* recommends, *Educ.* p. 284, and says: "The writing of letters has so much to do in all the occurrences of human life, that no gentleman can avoid showing himself in this kind of writing. Occasions will daily force him to make this use of his pen, which, besides the consequence that, in his affairs, the well or ill managing it often draws after it, always lays him open to a severer examination of his breeding, sense and abilities, than oral discourses, whose transient faults dying for the most part with the sound that gives them life, and so not subject to a strict review, more easily escape observation and censure."

He adds: "Had the methods of education been directed to their right end, one would have thought this so necessary a part could not have been neglected, whilst themes and verses in *Latin*, of no use at all, were so constantly everywhere pressed, to the racking of children's invention beyond their strength, and hindering their cheerful progress by unnatural difficulties. But custom has so ordained it, and who dares disobey? And would it not be very unreasonable to require of a learned country schoolmaster (who has all the tropes and figures in *Farnaby's* rhetoric at his finger's ends) to teach his scholar to express himself handsomely in *English*, when it appears to be so little his business or thought, that the boy's mother (despised, tis like, as illiterate, for not having read a system of logic or rhetoric) outdoes him in it?

myself, which were signed by us all and printed, that the public might know what was to be ex-

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"To speak and write correctly, gives a grace, and gains a favorable attention to what one has to say: And since 'tis *English* that an *Englishman* will have constant use of, that is the language he should chiefly cultivate, and wherein most care should be taken to polish and perfect his style. To speak or write better *Latin* than *English*, may make a man be talked of, but he will find it more to his purpose to express himself well in his own tongue, that he uses every moment, than to have the vain commendations of others for a very insignificant quality. This I find universally neglected, nor no care taken any where to improve young men in their own language, that they may thoroughly understand and be masters of it. If any one among us have a facility or purity more than ordinary in his mother tongue, it is owing to chance, or his genius, or any thing, rather than to his education or any care of his teacher. To mind what *English* his pupil speaks or writes, is below the dignity of one bred up among *Greek* and Latin, though he have but little of them himself. These are the learned languages, fit only for learned men to meddle with and teach: *English* is the language of the illiterate vulgar. Though the great men among the *Romans* were daily exercising themselves in their own language; and we find yet upon the record the names of orators who taught some of their Emperors *Latin*, though it were their mother tongue. 'Tis plain the Greeks were yet more nice in theirs. All other speech was barbarous to them but their own, and no foreign language appears to have been studied or valued amongst that learned and acute people; though it be past doubt that they borrowed their learning and philosophy from abroad."

To the same purpose writes a person of eminent learning in a letter to Dr. Turnbull: "Nothing certainly (says he) can be of more service to mankind than a right method of educating the youth, and I should be glad to hear ——— to give an ex-

pected. I wrote also a paper, intitled, 'Idea of an English School,' which was printed, and afterwards

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ample of the great advantage it would be to the *rising age*, and to our nation. When our public schools were first established, the knowledge of *Latin* was thought learning; and he that had had a tolerable skill in two or three languages, though his mind was not enlightened by any *real knowledge*, was a profound scholar. But it is not so at present; and people confess, that men may have obtained a perfection in these, and yet continue *deeply ignorant*. The *Greek* education was of another kind (which he describes in several particulars, and adds), They studied to write their *own tongue* more accurately than we do *Latin* and *Greek*. But where is *English* taught at present? Who thinks it of use to study correctly *that language* which he is to use *every day* in his life, be his station ever so high, or ever so insignificant. It is in *this* the nobility and gentry defend their country, and serve their prince in parliament; in *this* the lawyers plead, the divines instruct, and all ranks of people write their letters, and transact all their affairs; and yet who thinks it worth his learning to write *this* even accurately, not to say politely? Every one is suffered to form his style by chance; to imitate the first wretched model which falls in his way, before he knows what is faulty, or can relish the beauties of a just simplicity. Few think their children qualified for a trade till they have been whipt at a *Latin* school for five or six years, to learn a little of that which they are obliged to forget; when in those years right education would have improved their minds, and taught them to acquire habits of writing *their own language* easily under right direction; and this would have been useful to them as long as they lived." *Introd.* p. 3, 4, 5.

To form their pronunciation, they may be put on making declamations, repeating speeches, delivering orations, &c. The tutor assisting at the rehearsals, teaching, advising, correcting their accent, &c. By pronunciation is here meant, the proper

annexed to Mr. Peters' sermon, preached at the opening of the academy. This paper was said to be for the consideration of the trustees; and the expectation of the public that the idea might in a great measure be carried into execution, contributed to render the subscriptions more liberal as well as more general. I mention my concern in these transactions, to show the opportunity I had of being well informed in the points I am relating.

These constitutions are upon record in your minutes; and, although the Latin and Greek is by them to be taught, the original idea of a complete English education was not forgotten, as will appear by the following extracts.

Page 1. "The English tongue is to be taught grammatically, and as a language."

Page 4. In reciting the qualification of the person to be appointed rector, it is said, "that *great regard* is to be had to his *polite speaking, writing, and understanding the English tongue.*"

"The rector was to have two hundred pounds a-year, for which he was to be obliged to teach twenty boys without any assistance, (and twenty-five more for every usher provided for him,) the

modulation of the voice, to suit the subject with due emphasis, action, &c." In delivering a discourse in public, designed to persuade, the *manner*, perhaps, contributes more to success, than either the *matter* or *method*. Yet the two latter seem to engross the attention of most preachers and other public speakers, and the former to be almost totally neglected.

Latin and Greek languages; and at the same time instruct them in history, geography, chronology, logic, rhetoric, and *the English tongue*."

"The rector was also, on all occasions consistent with his duty in the Latin school, to *assist the English master in improving the youth under his care*."

Page 5. "The trustees shall, with all convenient speed, contract with any person that offers, whom they shall judge most capable of *teaching the English tongue grammatically and as a language*, history, geography, chronology, logic, and oratory; which person shall be styled *the English master*."

The English master was to have one hundred pounds a-year, for which he was to teach, without any assistance, forty scholars, *the English tongue grammatically;* and at the same time instruct them in history, geography, chronology, logic, and oratory; and sixty scholars more for every usher provided for him.

It is to be observed in this place, that here are two distinct courses in the same study, that is of the same branches of science, viz. history, geography, chronology, logic, and oratory, to be carried on at the same time, but not by the same tutor or master. The English master is to teach his scholars all those branches of science, and also the English tongue grammatically, as a language. The Latin master is to teach the same sciences to his boys, besides the Greek and Latin. He was

also to assist the English master occasionally, without which, and his general care in the government of the schools, the giving him double salary seems not well accounted for. But here is plainly two distinct schools or courses of education provided for. The Latin master was not to teach the English scholars logic, rhetoric, &c.; that was the duty of the English master; but he was to teach those sciences to the Latin scholars. We shall see hereafter how easily this original plan was defeated and departed from.

When the constitutions were first drawn, blanks were left for the salaries, and for the number of boys the Latin master was to teach. The first instance of partiality in favor of the Latin part of the institution, was in giving the title of rector to the Latin master, and no title to the English one. But the most striking instance was when we met to sign, and the blanks were first to be filled up, the votes of a majority carried it to give twice as much salary to the Latin master as to the English, and yet require twice as much duty from the English master as from the Latin, viz. 200*l.* to the Latin master to teach twenty boys; 100*l.* to the English master to teach forty! However, the trustees who voted these salaries being themselves by far the greatest subscribers, though not the most numerous, it was thought they had a kind of right to predominate in money matters; and those who had wished an equal regard might have been shown to

both schools, submitted, though not without regret, and at times some little complaining, which, with their not being able in nine months to find a proper person for *English master*, who would undertake the office for so low a salary, induced the trustees at length, viz. in July 1750, to offer 50*l*. more.

Another instance of the partiality above-mentioned was in the March preceding, when 100*l*. sterling was voted to buy *Latin* and *Greek* books, maps, drafts, and instruments for the use of the academy, and nothing for the *English books*.

The great part of the subscribers, who had the English education chiefly in view, were however soothed into a submission to these partialities, chiefly by the expectation given them by the constitution, viz. that the trustees would make it their pleasure, and in some degree their business, to visit the academy often, to encourage and countenance the youth, look on the students as in some measure their own children, treat them with familiarity and affection; and when they have behaved well, gone through their studies, and are to enter the world, the trustees shall zealously unite, and make all the interest that can be made, to promote and establish them, whether in business, offices, marriages, or any other thing for their advantage, preferable to all other persons whatsoever, even of equal merit.

These splendid promises dazzled the eyes of the

public: the trustees were most of them the principal gentlemen of the province. Children taught in other schools had no reason to expect such powerful patronage. The subscribers had placed such entire confidence in them as to leave themselves no power of changing them if their conduct of the plan should be disapproved; and so, in hopes of the best, all these partialities were submitted to.

Near a year passed before a proper person was found to take charge of the English school. At length Mr. Dove, who had been many years master of a school in England, and had come hither with an apparatus for giving lectures in experimental philosophy, was prevailed with by me, after his lectures were finished, to accept that employment for the salary offered, though he thought it too scanty. He had a good voice, read perfectly well, with proper accent and just pronunciation, and his method of communicating habits of the same kind to his pupils, was this:—When he gave a lesson to one of them, he always first read it to him aloud, with all the different modulations of voice that the subject and sense required. These the scholars, in studying and repeating the lesson, naturally endeavored to imitate, and it was really surprising to see how soon they caught his manner, which convinced me and others who frequently attended his school, that though bad tones and manners in

reading are, when once acquired, rarely, with difficulty, if ever cured, yet when none have been already formed, good ones are as easily learned as bad. In a few weeks after opening his school, the trustees were invited to hear the scholars read and recite: the parents and relations of the boys also attended. The performances were surprisingly good, and of course were admired and applauded; and the English school thereby acquired such reputation, that the number of Mr. Dove's scholars soon amounted to upwards of ninety, which number did not diminish as long as he continued master, viz. upwards of two years; but he finding the salary insufficient, and having set up a school for girls in his own house to supply the deficiency, and quitting the boys' school somewhat before the hour to attend the girls, the trustees disapproved of his so doing, and he quitted their employment; continued his girls' school, and opened one for boys on his own account. The trustees provided another English master; but though a good man, yet not possessing the talents of an English schoolmaster in the same perfection with Mr. Dove: the school diminished daily, and soon was found to have but about forty scholars left. The performances of the boys, in reading and speaking, were no longer so brilliant; the trustees of course had not the same pleasure in hearing them, and the monthly visitations, which had so long afforded a delightful

entertainment to large audiences, became less and less attended, and at length discontinued; and the English school has never since recovered its original reputation.

Thus, by our injudiciously starving the English part of our scheme of education, we only saved fifty pounds a-year, which was required as an additional salary to an acknowledged excellent English master, which would have equalled his encouragement to that of the Latin master; I say, by saving the 50*l.* we lost fifty scholars, which would have been 200*l.* a-year, and defeated, besides, our great end of the institution.

In the mean time our favors were showered upon the Latin part; the number of teachers was increased, and their salaries from time to time augmented, till, if I mistake not, they amounted in the whole to more than 600*l.* a-year, though the scholars hardly ever exceeded sixty; so that each scholar cost the funds 10*l.* per annum, while he paid but 4*l.*, which was a loss of 6*l.* by every one of them.

The monthly visitations of the schools by the trustees having been long neglected, the omission was complained of by the parents as a breach of original promise; whereupon the trustees, July 11, 1755, made it a law, that "they should meet on the second Tuesday in every month at the academy, to visit the schools, examine the scholars, hear their public exercises, &c." This good law, however,

like many others, was not long observed; for I find by a minute of December 14, 1756, that the examination of the schools by the trustees had been long neglected, and it was agreed that it should thereafter be done on the first Monday in every month; and yet, notwithstanding this new rule, the neglect returned; so that we are informed, by another minute of January 13, 1761, "that for five months past there had not been *one* meeting of the trustees." In the course of fourteen years several of the original trustees, who had been disposed to favor the English school, deceased, and others not so favorable were chosen to supply their places; however, it appears by the minutes, that the remainder had sometimes weight enough to recal the attention of their colleagues to that school, and obtain acknowledgments of the unjust neglect it had been treated with; of this the following extracts from the minutes are authentic proofs, viz.— "Minute Book, vol. i. February 8, 1763.—The state of the English school was taken into consideration, and it was observed that Mr. Kinnersley's time was entirely taken up in teaching little boys the elements of the English language (this is what it dwindled into, a school similar to those kept by old women, who teach children their letters); and that speaking and rehearsing in public were *totally disused*, to the great prejudice of the other scholars and students, and contrary to the *original design* of the trustees in the forming of that school; and, as

this was a matter of great importance, it was *particularly recommended* to be *fully considered* by the trustees at their next meeting."—At their next meeting it was not considered; but this minute contains full proof of the fact, that the English education had been neglected, and it contains an acknowledgment that the conduct of the English school was contrary to the original design of the trustees in forming it.

In the same book of minutes we find the following, of April 12, 1763;—"The state of the English school was again taken into consideration, and it was the opinion of the trustees that the ORIGINAL DESIGN should be prosecuted, of teaching the scholars (of that and the other schools) the elegance of the English language, and giving them a proper pronunciation; and that the *old method* of hearing them read and repeat in public, should be again used. And a committee was appointed to confer with Mr. Kinnersley, how this might best be done, as well as what assistance would be necessary to give Mr. Kinnersley to enable him to attend this *necessary service*, which was indeed the PROPER BUSINESS of his professorship."

In this minute, we have another acknowledgment of what was the *original design* of the English school; but here are some words thrown in to countenance an innovation, which had been for some time practised. The words are, (and the other schools) "originally by the constitutions, the

rector was to teach the Latin scholars their English; the words of the constitution are, 'The rector shall be obliged, without the assistance of any usher, to teach twenty scholars the Latin and Greek languages, and the English tongue.'" To enable him to do this, we have seen that some of his qualifications indispensably required, were, his *polite speaking*, *writing*, and *understanding the English tongue*. Having these, he was enjoined on all occasions consistent with his other duties, to assist the English master in improving the boys under his care; but there is not a word obliging the English master to teach the Latin boys English. However, the Latin masters, either unable to do it, or unwilling to take the trouble, had got him up among them, and employed so much of his time, that this minute owns he could not, without farther assistance, attend the *necessary service* of his own school, which, as the minute expressly says, "was indeed the *proper business* of his professorship."

Notwithstanding this good resolution of the trustees, it seems the execution of it was neglected, and the public not being satisfied, they were again haunted by the friends of the children with the old complaint, that the original constitutions were not complied with, in regard to the English school. Their situation was unpleasant. On the one hand, there were still remaining some of the first trustees who were friends to the scheme of English education, and these would now and then be remarking

that it was neglected, and would be moving for a reformation; the constitutions at the same time staring the trustees in the face, gave weight to these remarks. On the other hand, the Latinists were combined to decry the English school as useless. It was without example, they said, as indeed they still say, that a school for teaching the vulgar tongue, and the sciences in that tongue, was ever joined with a college, and that the Latin masters were fully competent to teach the English. I will not say that the Latinists looked on every expense upon the English school as so far disabling the trustees from augmenting their salaries, and therefore regarded it with an evil eye; but when I find the minutes constantly filled with their applications for higher wages, I cannot but see their great regard for money matters, and suspect a little their using their interest and influence to prevail with the trustees not to encourage that school. And indeed the following minute is so different in spirit and sentiment from that last recited, that one cannot avoid concluding that some extraordinary pains must have been taken with the trustees between the two meetings of April 12, and June 13, to produce a resolution so very different, which here follows in this minute, viz. "June 13, 1763. Some of the parents of the children in the academy having complained that their children were not taught to speak and read in public, and having requested that this useful part of education might be more attended to,

Mr. Kinnersley was called in, and desired to give an account of what was done in this branch of his duty; and he declared that this was well taught, not only in the English school, which was more immediately under his care, *but in the philosophy classes, regularly every Monday afternoon, and as often at other times as his other business would permit*. And it not appearing to the trustees that any more could at present be done, without partiality and great inconvenience, and that this was all that was ever proposed to be done, they did not incline to make any alteration, or to lay any farther burthen on Mr. Kinnersley." Note here, that the English school had not for some years preceding been visited by the trustees. If it had, they would have known the state of it without making this inquiry of the master. They might have judged, whether the children more immediately under his care, were in truth well taught, without taking his word for it, as it appears they did. But it seems he had a merit, which, when he pleaded it, effectually excused him: he spent his time when out of the English school in instructing the philosophy classes who were of the Latin part of the institution. Therefore they did not think proper to lay any farther burthen upon him.

It is a little difficult to conceive how these trustees could bring themselves to declare, that "No more could be done in the English school than was then done, and that it was *all* that *was ever*

proposed to be done;" when their preceding minute declares, that "The *original design* was teaching scholars the elegance of the English language, and giving them a proper pronunciation; and that hearing them read and repeat in public was the *old method*, and should be again used." And certainly, the method that had been used might be again used, if the trustees had thought fit to order Mr. Kinnersley to attend his own school, and not spend his time in the philosophy classes, where his duty did not require his attendance. What the apprehended partiality was which the minute mentions, does not appear, and cannot easily be imagined, and the great inconvenience of obliging him to attend his own school, could only be depriving the Latinists of his assistance, to which they had no right.

The trustees may possibly have supposed, that by this resolution they had precluded all future attempts to trouble them with respect to their conduct of the English school. The parents indeed, despairing of any reformation, withdrew their children, and placed them in private schools, of which several now appeared in the city, professing to teach what had been promised to be taught in the academy; and they have since florished and increased by the scholars the academy might have had, if it had performed its engagements. But the public was not satisfied; and we find, five years after, the English school appearing again, after five

years' silence, haunting the trustees like an evil conscience, and reminding them of their failure in duty. For, of their meetings Jan. 19 and 26, 1768, we find these minutes: "Jan. 19, 1768. It having been remarked, that the schools suffer in the public esteem by the discontinuance of public speaking, a special meeting is to be called on Tuesday next, to consider the state of the English school, and to regulate such matters as may be necessary."— "Jan. 26. A special meeting. It is agreed to give Mr. Jon. Easton and Mr. Thomas Hall, at the rate of twenty-five pounds per annum each, for assisting Mr. Kinnersley in the English school, and taking care of the same when he shall be employed in teaching the students in the *philosophy classes* and *grammar school*, the art of public speaking. A committee, Mr. Peters, Mr. Coxe, and Mr. Duché, with the masters, was appointed to fix rules and times for employing the youth in public speaking. Mr. Easton and Mr. Hall are to be paid out of a fund to be raised by some public performance for the benefit of the college."

It appears from these minutes, 1. That the reputation of the academy had suffered in the public esteem by the trustees' neglect of that school. 2. That Mr. Kinnersley, whose sole business it was to attend it, had been called from his duty and employed in the philosophy classes and Latin grammar school, teaching the scholars there the art of public speaking, which the Latinists used to

boast they could teach themselves. 3. That the neglect for so many years of the English scholars by this subtraction of their master, was now acknowledged, and proposed to be remedied for the future by engaging two persons, Mr. Hall and Mr. Easton, at twenty-five pounds per annum, to take care of those scholars, while Mr. Kinnersley was employed among the Latinists.

Care was however taken by the trustees, not to be at any expense for this assistance to Mr. Kinnersley; for Hall and Easton were only to be paid out of the uncertain fund of money to be raised by some public performance for the benefit of the college.

A committee was however now appointed to fix rules and times for employing the youth in public speaking. Whether any thing was done in consequence of these minutes, does not appear; no report of the committee respecting their doings being to be found on the records, and the probability is that they did as heretofore, nothing to the purpose. For the English school continued to decline, and the first subsequent mention we find made of it, is in the minute of March 21, 1769, when the design began to be entertained of abolishing it altogether, whereby the Latinists would get rid of an eyesore, and the trustees of what occasioned them such frequent trouble. The minute is this: "The state of the English school is to be taken into consideration at next meeting, and

whether it be proper to continue it on its present footing or not." This consideration was however not taken at the next meeting, at least nothing was concluded so as to be minuted; nor do we find any farther mention of the English school till the 18th of July, when the following minute was entered; viz. "A special meeting is appointed to be held on Monday next, and notice to be given that the design of this meeting is to consider whether the English school is to be longer continued."

This special meeting was accordingly held on the 23d of July, 1769, of which date is the following minute and resolution: viz. "The trustees at this meeting, as well as several former ones, having taken into their serious consideration the state of the English school, are unanimously of opinion, that as the said school is far from defraying the expense at which they now support it, and not thinking that they ought to lay out any great part of the funds intrusted to them, on this branch of education, which can so easily be procured at other schools in this city, have resolved, that from and after the 17th of October next, Mr. Kinnersley's present salary do cease, and that from that time the said school, if he shall be inclined to keep it, shall be on the following footing; viz. that he shall have the free use of the room where he now teaches, and also the whole tuition-money arising from the boys that may be taught by him, and that he continue professor of English and oratory, and as such, have the house he lives in *rent-free*, in

consideration of his giving two afternoons in the week as heretofore, for the instruction of the students belonging to the college in public speaking; agreeable to such rules as are or shall be made for that purpose by the trustees and faculty. It is further ordered by this regulation, that the boys belonging to his school shall be still considered as part of the youth belonging to the college, and under the same general government of the trustees and faculty; and such of his scholars as may attend the mathematical or any other master having a salary from the college, for any part of their time, shall pay proportionably into the fund of the trustees, to be accounted for by Mr. Kinnersley, and deducted out of the twenty pounds per quarter now paid by the English scholars."

The trustees hope this regulation may be agreeable to Mr. Kinnersley, as it proceeds entirely from the reasons set forth above, and not from any abatement of that esteem which they have always retained for him, during the whole course of his services in college.

Upon this and some of the preceding minutes, may be observed; 1. That the English school having been long neglected, the scholars were so diminished in number as to be far from defraying the expense in supporting it. 2. That the instruction they received there, instead of a complete English education, which had been promised to the subscribers by the original constitutions, were only such as might easily be procured at other schools

in this city. 3. That this unprofitableness of the English school, owing to neglect of duty in the trustees, was now offered as a reason for demolishing it altogether. For it was easy to see, that after depriving the master of his salary, he could not long afford to continue it. 4. That if the insufficiency of the tuition-money in the English school to pay the expense, and the ease with which the scholars might obtain equal instruction in other schools, were good reasons for depriving the master of his salary and destroying that school, they were equally good for dismissing the Latin masters, and sending their scholars to other schools, since it is notorious that the tuition-money of the Latin school did not pay much above a fourth part of the salaries of the masters. For such reasons the trustees might equally well have got rid of all the scholars and all the masters, and remained in full possession of all the college property, without any future expense. 5. That by their refusing any longer to support, instead of reforming, as they ought to have done, the English school, they shamefully broke through and set at nought the original constitutions, for the due execution of which the faith of the original trustees had been solemnly pledged to the public, and diverted the revenues proceeding from much of the first subscriptions, to other purposes than those which had been promised. Had the assembly, when disposed to disfranchise the trustees, set their foot upon this ground, their proceeding to declare the forfeiture

would have been more justifiable; and it may be hoped care will now be taken not to give any future assembly the same handle.

It seems, however, that this unrighteous resolve did not pass the trustees without a qualm in some of them. For at the next meeting a reconsideration was moved, and we find the following minute under the date of Aug. 1, 1769: "The minute of last meeting relative to the English school was read, and after mature deliberation and reconsidering the same, it was voted to stand as it is, provided it should not be found any way repugnant to the first charter granted to the academy, a copy of which was ordered to be procured out of the rolls' office."

One might have thought it natural for the trustees to have consulted this charter before they took the resolution, and not only the first charter, but the original constitutions; but as it seems they had lost the instrument containing the charter, and though it had been printed, not one of them was furnished with a copy to which he might refer, it is no wonder that they had forgot the constitutions made 20 years before, to which they do not seem to have in the least adverted.

Probably, however, the trustees found when they came to examine original papers, that they could not easily get entirely rid of the English school, and so concluded to continue it. For I find in a law for premiums, minuted under the date of Jan. 29, 1770, that the English and mathe-

matical school is directed to be examined the third Tuesday in July, and a premium book of the value of one dollar was to be given to him that reads best, and understands best the English grammar, &c. This is very well; but to keep up the old partiality in favor of the Latin school, the premium to its boys was to be of the value of two dollars. In the premiums for best speaking, they were indeed put upon an equality.

After reading this law for premiums, I looked forward to the third Tuesday in July with some pleasing expectation of their effect on the examination required for that day. But I met with only this further record of the inattention of the trustees to their new resolutions and even laws, when they contained any thing favorable to the English school. The minute is only this: "July, August, September, October, no business done."

On the 20th of November, however, I find there was an examination of the Latin school, and premiums, with pompous inscriptions afterwards adjudged to Latin scholars; but I find no mention of any to the English, or that they were even examined. Perhaps there might have been none to examine, or the school discontinued; for it appears by a minute of July 21, following, that the provost was desired to advertise for a master able to teach English grammatically, which it seems was all the English master was now required to teach, the other branches originally premised being dropt entirely.

In October, 1772, Mr. Kinnersley resigned his professorship, when Dr. Peters and others were appointed to consider in what footing the English school shall be put for the future, that a new master may be thought of, and Mr. Willing to take care of the school for the present at fifty pounds per annum. It is observable here that there is no mention of putting it on its original footing, and the salary is shrunk amazingly; but this resignation of Mr. Kinnersley gave occasion to one testimony of the utility of the English professor to the institution, notwithstanding all the partiality, neglect, slights, discouragements, and injustice that school had suffered. We find it in the minutes of a special meeting on the 2d of February, 1773, present Dr. Peters, Mr. Chew, Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Willing, Mr. Trettel, and Mr. Inglis, and expressed in these strong terms.

"The college suffers *greatly* since Mr. Kinnersley left it, for want of a person to teach public speaking, so that the present classes have not those opportunities of learning to declaim and speak which have been of so much *use* to their predecessors, and have contributed *greatly* to *raise the credit* of the institution."

Here is another confession that the Latinists were unequal to the task of teaching English eloquence, though on occasion the contrary is still asserted. I flatter myself, Gentlemen, that it appears by this time pretty clearly from our own

minutes, that the original plan of the English school has been departed from; that the subscribers to it have been disappointed and deceived, and the faith of the trustees not kept with them; that the public have been frequently dissatisfied with the conduct of the trustees, and complained of it; that by the niggardly treatment of good masters, they have been driven out of the school, and the scholars have followed, while a great loss of revenue has been suffered by the academy; so that the numerous schools now in the city owe their rise to our mismanagement, and that we might as well have had the best part of the tuition-money paid into our treasury that now goes into private pockets. That there has been a constant disposition to depress the English school in favor of the Latin; and that every means to procure a more equitable treatment has been rendered ineffectual; so that no more hope remains while they continue to have any connexion. It is, therefore, that wishing as much good to the Latinists as their system can honestly procure for them, we now demand a separation, and without desiring to injure them; but claiming an equitable partition of our joint stock, we wish to execute the plan they have so long defeated, and afford the public the means of a complete English education.

I am the only one of the original trustees now living, and I am just stepping into the grave myself. I am afraid that some part of the blame

incurred by the trustees may be laid on me for having too easily submitted to the deviations from the constitution, and not opposing them with sufficient zeal and earnestness; though indeed my absence in foreign countries at different times for near thirty years, tended much to weaken my influence: to make what amends are yet in my power, I seize this opportunity, the last I may possibly have, of bearing testimony against those deviations. I seem here to be surrounded by the ghosts of my dear departed friends, beckoning and urging me to use the only tongue now left us in demanding that justice to our grand-children that to our children have been denied. And I hope they will not be sent away discontented.

The origin of Latin and Greek schools among the different nations of Europe is known to have been this, that until between three and four hundred years past there were no books in any other language; all the knowledge then contained in books, viz. the theology, the jurisprudence, the physic, the art-military, the politics, the mathematics and mechanics, the natural and moral philosophy, the logic and rhetoric, the chemistry, the pharmacy, the architecture, and every other branch of science, being in those languages, it was of course necessary to learn them, as the gates through which men must pass to get at that knowledge.

The books then existing were manuscript, and

these consequently so dear, that only the few wealthy inclined to learning could afford to purchase them. The common people were not even at the pains of learning to read, because, after taking that pains, they would have nothing to read that they could understand without learning the ancients' languages, nor then, without money to purchase the manuscripts. And so few were the learned readers sixty years after the invention of printing, that it appears by letters still extant between the printers in 1499, that they could not throughout Europe find purchasers for more than 300 copies of any ancient authors. But printing beginning now to make books cheap, the readers increased so much as to make it worth while to write and print books in the vulgar tongues. At first these were chiefly books of devotion and little histories; gradually several branches of science began to appear in the common languages, and at this day the whole body of science, consisting not only of translations from all the valuable ancients, but of all the new modern discoveries, is to be met with in those languages, so that learning the ancient for the purpose of acquiring knowledge is become absolutely unnecessary.

But there is in mankind an unaccountable prejudice in favor of ancient customs and habitudes, which inclines to a continuance of them after the circumstances which formerly made them useful cease to exist. A multitude of instances might be

given, but it may suffice to mention one. Hats were once thought an useful part of dress; they kept the head warm and screened it from the violent impression of the sun's rays, and from the rain, snow, hail, &c. Though, by the way, this was not the more ancient opinion or practice; for among all the remains of antiquity, the bustos, statues, basso-relievos, medals, &c. which are infinite, there is no representation of a human figure with a cap or hat on, nor any covering for the head, unless it be the head of a soldier, who has a helmet, but that is evidently not a part of dress for health, but as a protection from the strokes of a weapon.

At what time hats were first introduced we know not, but in the last century they were universally worn throughout Europe. Gradually, however, as the wearing of wigs, and hair nicely dressed prevailed, the putting on of hats was disused by genteel people, lest the curious arrangements of the curls and powdering should be disordered; and umbrellas began to supply their place; yet still our considering the hat as a part of dress continues so far to prevail, that a man of fashion is not thought dressed without having one, or something like one, about him, which he carries under his arm. So that there are a multitude of the politer people in all the courts and capital cities of Europe, who have never, nor their fathers before them, worn a hat otherwise than as a *chapeau bras*, though

the utility of such a mode of wearing it is by no means apparent, and it is attended not only with some expense, but with a degree of constant trouble.

The still prevailing custom of having schools for teaching generally our children in these days the Latin and Greek languages, I consider therefore in no other light than as the *chapeau bras* of modern literature.

Thus the time spent in that study might, it seems, be much better employed in the education for such a country as ours; and this was indeed the opinion of most of the original trustees.

B. FRANKLIN.

HINTS FOR CONSIDERATION RESPECTING THE ORPHAN SCHOOL-HOUSE IN PHILADELPHIA.

CHARITABLE institutions, however originally well intended, and well executed at first for many years, are subject to be in a course of time corrupted, mismanaged, their funds misapplied or perverted to private purposes. Would it not be well to guard against these by prudent regulations respecting the choice of managers, and establishing the power of inspecting their conduct in some permanent body, as the monthly or quarterly meeting?

Would it not be more respectable for the institu-

tion, if the appearance of making a profit of the labor of orphans were avoided, and the dependance for funds to be wholly on charitable contributions? If this should be concluded, then it may be proper to open an account with each orphan on admission; the orphans to have credit for any subsistence brought in with them, and for the profit made of it and of their labor, and made debtors for their maintenance and education. And at their discharge on coming of age, to be paid the balance, if any, in their favor, or remain debtors for the balance, if against them, which they may be exhorted to pay, if ever able, but not to be compelled. Such as receive a balance may be exhorted to give back a part in charity to the institution that has taken such kind care of them, or at least to remember it favorably if hereafter God should bless them with ability, either in benefaction while living, or a legacy on decease. The orphans when discharged to receive, besides decent clothing and some money, a certificate of their good behavior, if such it has been, as a recommendation; and the managers of the institution should still consider them as their children, so far as to counsel them in their affairs, encourage and promote them in their business, watch over and kindly admonish them when in danger of misconduct.

B. F.

For the Federal Gazette, 12th September, 1789.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SUPREMEST COURT OF JUDICATURE IN PENNSYLVANIA, VIZ. THE COURT OF THE PRESS.

Power of this Court.

It may receive and promulgate accusations of all kinds, against all persons and characters among the citizens of the state, and even against all inferior courts; and may judge, sentence, and condemn to infamy, not only private individuals, but public bodies, &c. with or without inquiry or hearing, *at the court's discretion.*

In whose favor and for whose emolument this Court is established.

In favor of about one citizen in five hundred, who, by education or practice in scribbling, has acquired a tolerable style as to grammar and construction, so as to bear printing; or who is possessed of a press and a few types. This five hundredth part of the citizens have the privilege of accusing and abusing the other four hundred and ninety-nine parts at their pleasure; or they may hire out their pens and press to others for that purpose.

Practice of the Court.

It is not governed by any of the rules of common courts of law. The accused is allowed no

grand jury to judge of the truth of the accusation before it is publicly made, nor is the name of the accuser made known to him, nor has he an opportunity of confronting the witnesses against him; for they are kept in the dark, as in the Spanish court of inquisition. Nor is there any petty jury of his peers sworn to try the truth of the charges. The proceedings are also sometimes so rapid, that an honest good citizen may find himself suddenly and unexpectedly accused, and in the same morning judged and condemned, and sentence pronounced against him, that he is a *rogue* and a *villain*. Yet, if an officer of this court receives the slightest check for misconduct in this his office, he claims immediately the rights of a free citizen by the constitution, and demands to know his accuser, to confront the witnesses, and to have a fair trial by a jury of his peers.

The foundation of its authority.

It is said to be founded on an article in the state constitution, which establishes *the liberty of the press*: a liberty which every Pennsylvanian will fight and die for; though few of us, I believe, have distinct ideas of its nature and extent. It seems indeed somewhat like the *liberty of the press* that felons have, by the common law of England, before conviction, that is, to be *pressed* to death or hanged. If by the *liberty of the press* were understood merely the liberty of discussing the propriety of public

measures and political opinions, let us have as much of it as you please; but if it means the liberty of affronting, calumniating, and defaming one another, I, for my part, own myself willing to part with my share of it whenever our legislators shall please so to alter the law, and shall cheerfully consent to exchange my *liberty* of abusing others for the *privilege* of not being abused myself.

By whom this Court is commissioned or constituted.

It is not by any commission from the supreme executive council, who might previously judge of the abilities, integrity, knowledge, &c. of the persons to be appointed to this great trust, of deciding upon the characters and good fame of the citizens; for this court is above that council, and may *accuse, judge,* and *condemn* it, at pleasure. Nor is it hereditary, as in the court of *dernier resort*, in the peerage of England. But any man who can procure pen, ink, and paper, with a press, a few types, and a huge pair of BLACKING balls, may commissionate himself; and his court is immediately established in the plenary possession and exercise of its rights. For if you make the least complaint of the *judge's* conduct, he daubs his blacking balls in your face wherever he meets you: and besides tearing your private character to flitters, marks you out for the odium of the public, as an *enemy to the liberty of the press.*

Of the natural support of these Courts.

Their support is founded in the depravity of such minds as have not been mended by religion, nor improved by good education:

> "There is a lust in man no charm can tame,
> Of loudly publishing his neighbor's shame."

Hence:

> "On eagle's wings immortal scandals fly,
> While virtuous actions are but born and die."
>
> DRYDEN.

Whoever feels pain in hearing a good character of his neighbor, will feel a pleasure in the reverse. And of those who, despairing to rise into distinction by their virtues, and are happy if others can be depressed to a level with themselves, there are a number sufficient in every great town to maintain one of these courts by their subscriptions A shrewd observer once said, that in walking the streets in a slippery morning, one might see where the good-natured people lived by the ashes thrown on the ice before their doors: probably he would have formed a different conjecture of the temper of those whom he might find engaged in such a subscription.

Of the checks proper to be established against the abuse of power in those courts.

Hitherto there are none. But since so much has been written and published on the federal con-

stitution, and the necessity of checks in all other parts of good government has been so clearly and learnedly explained, I find myself so far enlightened as to suspect some check may be proper in this part also; but I have been at a loss to imagine any that may not be construed an infringement of the sacred *liberty of the press*. At length, however, I think I have found one that, instead of diminishing general liberty, shall augment it; which is, by restoring to the people a species of liberty of which they have been deprived by our laws, I mean the *liberty of the cudgel*. In the rude state of society prior to the existence of laws, if one man gave another ill language, the affronted person would return it by a box on the ear; and if repeated, by a good drubbing; and this without offending against any law: but now the right of making such returns is denied, and they are punished as breaches of the peace; while the right of abusing seems to remain in full force: the laws made against it being rendered ineffectual by the *liberty of the press*.

My proposal then is, to leave the liberty of the press untouched, to be exercised in its full extent, force, and vigor; but to permit the *liberty of the cudgel* to go with it *pari passu*. Thus, my fellow-citizens, if an impudent writer attacks your reputation, dearer to you perhaps than your life, and puts his name to the charge, you may go to him as openly and break his head. If he conceals him-

self behind the printer, and you can nevertheless discover who he is, you may in like manner waylay him in the night, attack him behind, and give him a good drubbing. Thus far goes my project as to *private* resentment and retribution. But if the public should ever happen to be affronted, *as it ought to be*, with the conduct of such writers, I would not advise proceeding immediately to these extremities; but that we should in moderation content ourselves with tarring and feathering, and tossing them in a blanket.

If, however, it should be thought that this proposal of mine may disturb the public peace, I would then humbly recommend to our legislators to take up the consideration of both liberties, that of the *press*, and that of the *cudgel*, and by an explicit law mark their extent and limits; and at the same time that they secure the person of a citizen from *assaults*, they would likewise provide for the security of his *reputation*.

SECTION III.

BAGATELLES.

[*The Letters, Essays, &c. contained in this section, were chiefly written by Dr. Franklin for the amusement of his intimate society in London and Paris; and were by himself actually collected in a small port-folio, endorsed as above. Several of the pieces were either originally written in French, or afterwards translated by him into that language, by way of exercises.*]

THE LEVEE.

In the first chapter of Job we have an account of a transaction said to have arisen in the court, or at the *levée*, of the best of all possible princes, or of governments by a single person, viz. that of God himself.

At this *levée*, in which the sons of God were assembled, Satan also appeared.

It is probable the writer of that ancient book took his idea of this *levée* from those of the eastern monarchs of the age he lived in.

It is to this day usual at the *levees* of princes, to have persons assembled who are enemies to each other, who seek to obtain favor by whispering calumny and detraction, and thereby ruining those

that distinguish themselves by their virtue and merit. And kings frequently ask a familiar question or two, of every one in the circle, merely to show their benignity. These circumstances are particularly exemplified in this relation.

If a modern king, for instance, finds a person in the circle who has not lately been there, he naturally asks him how he has passed his time since he last had the pleasure of seeing him? the gentleman perhaps replies that he has been in the country to view his estates, and visit some friends. Thus Satan being asked whence he cometh? answers, "From going to and fro in the earth, and walking up and down in it." And being further asked, whether he had considered the uprightness and fidelity of the prince's servant Job, he immediately displays all the malignance of the designing courtier, by answering with another question: "Doth Job serve God for naught? Hast thou not given him immense wealth, and protected him in the possession of it? Deprive him of that, and he will curse thee to thy face." In modern phrase, Take away his places and his pensions, and your Majesty will soon find him in the opposition.

This whisper against Job had its effect. He was delivered into the power of his adversary, who deprived him of his fortune, destroyed his family, and completely ruined him.

The book of Job is called by divines a sacred

poem, and with the rest of the Holy Scriptures, is understood to be written for our instruction.

What then is the instruction to be gathered from this supposed transaction?

Trust not a single person with the government of your state. For if the Deity himself, being the monarch, may for a time give way to calumny, and suffer it to operate the destruction of the best of subjects; what mischief may you not expect from such power in a mere man, though the best of men, from whom the truth is often industriously hidden, and to whom falsehood is often presented in its place, by artful, interested, and malicious courtiers?

And be cautious in trusting him even with limited powers, lest sooner or later he sap and destroy those limits, and render himself absolute.

For by the disposal of places, he attaches to himself all the placeholders, with their numerous connexions, and also all the expecters and hopers of places, which will form a strong party in promoting his views. By various political engagements for the interest of neighboring states or princes, he procures their aid in establishing his own personal power. So that, through the hopes of emolument in one part of his subjects, and the fear of his resentment in the other, all opposition falls before him.

PROPOSED NEW VERSION OF THE BIBLE.

To the Printer of * * * *

Sir,

It is now more than 170 years since the translation of our common English Bible. The language in that time is much changed, and the stile being obsolete, and thence less agreeable, is perhaps one reason why the reading of that excellent book is of late so much neglected. I have therefore thought it would be well to procure a new version, in which, preserving the sense, the turn of phrase and manner of expression should be modern. I do not pretend to have the necessary abilities for such a work myself; I throw out the hint for the consideration of the learned: and only venture to send you a few verses of the first chapter of Job, which may serve as a sample of the kind of version I would recommend.

A. B.

PART OF THE FIRST CHAPTER OF JOB MODERNISED.

Old Text.	New Version.
Verse 6. Now there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came among them.	Verse 6. And it being *levée* day in heaven, all God's nobility came to court, to present themselves before him; and Satan also appeared in the circle, as one of the ministry.
7. And the Lord said unto Satan, Whence comest thou! Then Satan answered the Lord, and said, From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it.	7. And God said to Satan, You have been some time absent; where were you? And Satan answered, I have been at my country-seat, and in different places visiting my friends.

8. And the Lord said unto Satan, Hast thou considered my servant Job, that there is none like him in the earth, a perfect and an upright man, one that feareth God, and escheweth evil?

8. And God said, Well, what think you of Lord Job? You see he is my best friend, a perfectly honest man, full of respect for me, and avoiding every thing that might offend me.

9. Then Satan answered the Lord, and said, Doth Job fear God for naught?

9. And Satan answered, Does your majesty imagine that his good conduct is the effect of mere personal attachment and affection?

10. Hast thou not made an hedge about his house, and about all that he hath on every side? Thou hast blessed the work of his hands, and his substance is increased in the land:

10. Have you not protected him, and heaped your benefits upon him, till he is grown enormously rich?

11. But put forth thine hand now, and touch all that he hath, and he will curse thee to thy face.

11. Try him;—only withdraw your favor, turn him out of his places, and with-hold his pensions, and you will soon find him in the opposition.

APOLOGUE.[1]

Lion, king of a certain forest, had among his subjects a body of faithful dogs, in principle and affection strongly attached to his person and government, but through whose assistance he had extended his dominions, and had become the terror of his enemies.

Lion, however, influenced by evil counsellors, took an aversion to the dogs, condemned them

[1] Written at the period of, and in allusion to, the claims of the *American Royalists* on the *British Government*.

unheard, and ordered his tigers, leopards, and panthers to attack and destroy them.

The dogs petitioned humbly, but their petitions were rejected haughtily; and they were forced to defend themselves, which they did with bravery.

A few among them, of a mongrel race, derived from a mixture with wolves and foxes, corrupted by royal promises of great rewards, deserted the honest dogs and joined their enemies.

The dogs were finally victorious: a treaty of peace was made, in which Lion acknowledged them to be free, and disclaimed all future authority over them.

The mongrels not being permitted to return among them, claimed of the royalists the reward that had been promised.

A council of the beasts was held to consider their demand.

The wolves and the foxes agreed unanimously that the demand was just, that royal promises ought to be kept, and that every loyal subject should contribute freely to enable his majesty to fulfil them.

The horse alone, with a boldness and freedom that became the nobleness of his nature, delivered a contrary opinion.

"The king," said he, "has been misled, by bad ministers, to war unjustly upon his faithful subjects. Royal promises, when made to encourage us to act for the public good, should indeed be honorably

acquitted; but if to encourage us to betray and destroy each other, they are wicked and void from the beginning. The advisers of such promises, and those who murdered in consequence of them, instead of being recompensed should be severely punished. Consider how greatly our common strength is already diminished by our loss of the dogs. If you enable the king to reward those fratricides, you will establish a precedent that may justify a future tyrant in making like promises, and every example of such an unnatural brute rewarded, will give them additional weight. Horses and bulls, as well as dogs, may thus be divided against their own kind, and civil wars produced at pleasure, till we are so weakened that neither liberty nor safety are any longer to be found in the forest, and nothing remains but abject submission to the will of a despot, who may devour us as he pleases."

The council had sense enough to resolve,—That the demand be rejected.

To Miss Georgiana Shipley,[1]

On the loss of her American Squirrel, who, escaping from his cage, was killed by a shepherd's dog.

Dear Miss, *London, Sept. 26. 1772.*

I lament with you most sincerely, the unfortunate end of poor Mungo. Few squirrels were better accomplished; for he had had a good

[1] A daughter of the Bishop of St. Asaph.

education, had travelled far, and seen much of the world. As he had the honor of being, for his virtues, your favorite, he should not go, like common skuggs, without an elegy or an epitaph. Let us give him one in the monumental style and measure, which, being neither prose nor verse, is perhaps the properest for grief; since to use common language would look as if we were not affected, and to make rhimes would seem trifling in sorrow.

EPITAPH.

Alas! poor MUNGO!
Happy wert thou hadst thou known
Thy own felicity.
Remote from the fierce bal'd eagle,
Tyrant of thy native woods;
Thou hadst naught to fear from his piercing talons,
Nor from the murdering gun
Of the thoughtless sportsman.
Safe in thy wir'd castle,
GRIMALKIN never could annoy thee.
Daily wert thou fed with the choicest viands,
By the fair hand of an indulgent mistress;
But, discontented,
Thou wouldst have more freedom:
Too soon, alas! didst thou obtain it;
And, wandering,
Thou art fallen by the fangs of wanton, cruel RANGER!
Learn hence,
Ye who blindly seek more liberty,
Whether subjects, sons, squirrels, or daughters,
That apparent restraint may be real protection;
Yielding peace and plenty
With security.

You see, my dear Miss, how much more decent and proper this broken style is, than if we were to say, by way of epitaph,—

Here SKUGG
Lies snug,
As a bug
In a rug.

and yet, perhaps, there are people in the world of so little feeling as to think that this would be a good-enough epitaph for poor Mungo.

If you wish it, I shall procure another to succeed him; but perhaps you will now choose some other amusement.

Remember me affectionately to all the good family, and believe me ever,

Your affectionate friend, B. FRANKLIN.

THE ART OF PROCURING PLEASANT DREAMS.

INSCRIBED TO MISS ****.

(Being written at her request.)

As a great part of our life is spent in sleep during which we have sometimes pleasant, and sometimes painful dreams, it becomes of some consequence to obtain the one kind, and avoid the other; for, whether real or imaginary, pain is pain, and pleasure is pleasure. If we can sleep without dreaming, it is well that painful dreams are avoided. If, while we sleep, we can have any pleasing

dreams, it is, as the French say, *autant de gagné*, so much added to the pleasure of life.

To this end it is, in the first place, necessary to be careful in preserving health, by due exercise and great temperance; for, in sickness, the imagination is disturbed; and disagreeable, sometimes terrible, ideas are apt to present themselves. Exercise should precede meals, not immediately follow them; the first promotes, the latter, unless moderate, obstructs digestion. If, after exercise, we feed sparingly, the digestion will be easy and good, the body lightsome, the temper cheerful, and all the animal functions performed agreeably. Sleep, when it follows, will be natural and undisturbed; while indolence, with full feeding, occasions nightmares and horrors inexpressible: we fall from precipices, are assaulted by wild beasts, murderers, and demons, and experience every variety of distress. Observe, however, that the quantities of food and exercise are relative things: those who move much may, and indeed ought, to eat more; those who use little exercise should eat little. In general, mankind, since the improvement of cookery, eat about twice as much as nature requires. Suppers are not bad, if we have not dined; but restless nights naturally follow hearty suppers after full dinners. Indeed, as there is a difference in constitutions, some rest well after these meals; it costs them only a frightful dream and an apoplexy, after which they sleep till doomsday. Nothing is

more common in the newspapers, than instances of people who, after eating a hearty supper, are found dead a-bed in the morning.

Another means of preserving health, to be attended to, is the having a constant supply of fresh air in your bed-chamber. It has been a great mistake, the sleeping in rooms exactly closed, and in beds surrounded by curtains. No outward air that may come into you is so unwholesome as the unchanged air, often breathed, of a close chamber. As boiling water does not grow hotter by longer boiling, if the particles that receive greater heat can escape; so living bodies do not putrefy if the particles, so fast as they become putrid, can be thrown off. Nature expels them by the pores of the skin and the lungs, and in a free open air they are carried off; but in a close room we receive them again and again, though they become more and more corrupt. A number of persons crowded into a small room thus spoil the air in a few minutes, and even render it mortal, as in the Black Hole at Calcutta. A single person is said to spoil only a gallon of air per minute, and therefore requires a longer time to spoil a chamber full; but it is done, however, in proportion, and many putrid disorders hence have their origin. It is recorded of Methusalem, who, being the longest liver, may be supposed to have best preserved his health, that he slept always in the open air; for, when he had lived five hundred years, an angel said to him:—

"Arise, Methusalem, and build thee an house, for thou shalt live yet five hundred years longer." But Methusalem answered and said, "If I am to live but five hundred years longer, it is not worth while to build me an house; I will sleep in the air, as I have been used to do." Physicians, after having for ages contended that the sick should not be indulged with fresh air, have at length discovered that it may do them good. It is therefore to be hoped, that they may in time discover likewise, that it is not hurtful to those who are in health, and that we may be then cured of the *aërophobia* that at present distresses weak minds, and makes them choose to be stifled and poisoned, rather than leave open the window of a bed-chamber, or put down the glass of a coach.

Confined air, when saturated with perspirable matter,[1] will not receive more; and that matter must remain in our bodies, and occasion diseases: but it gives some previous notice of its being about to be hurtful, by producing certain uneasinesses, slight indeed at first, such as with regard to the lungs is a trifling sensation, and to the pores of the skin a kind of restlessness, which is difficult to describe, and few that feel it know the cause of it. But we may recollect, that sometimes on waking

[1] What physicians call the perspirable matter, is that vapor which passes off from our bodies, from the lungs, and through the pores of the skin. The quantity of this is said to be five-eighths of what we eat.

in the night, we have, if warmly covered, found it difficult to get asleep again. We turn often without finding repose in any position. This fidgettiness (to use a vulgar expression for want of a better) is occasioned wholly by an uneasiness in the skin, owing to the retention of the perspirable matter—the bed-clothes having received their quantity, and, being saturated, refusing to take any more. To become sensible of this by an experiment, let a person keep his position in the bed, but throw off the bed-clothes, and suffer fresh air to approach the part uncovered of his body; he will then feel that part suddenly refreshed; for the air will immediately relieve the skin, by receiving, licking up, and carrying off, the load of perspirable matter that incommoded it. For every portion of cool air that approaches the warm skin, in receiving its part of that vapor, receives therewith a degree of heat that rarefies and renders it lighter, when it will be pushed away with its burthen, by cooler and therefore heavier fresh air, which for a moment supplies its place, and then, being likewise changed and warmed, gives way to a succeeding quantity. This is the order of nature, to prevent animals being infected by their own perspiration. He will now be sensible of the difference between the part exposed to the air and that which, remaining sunk in the bed, denies the air access: for this part now manifests its uneasiness more distinctly by the comparison, and the seat of the uneasiness is more

plainly perceived than when the whole surface of the body was affected by it.

Here, then, is one great and general cause of unpleasing dreams: For when the body is uneasy, the mind will be disturbed by it, and disagreeable ideas of various kinds will in sleep be the natural consequences. The remedies, preventive and curative, follow:

1. By eating moderately (as before advised for health's sake) less perspirable matter is produced in a given time; hence the bed-clothes receive it longer before they are saturated, and we may therefore sleep longer before we are made uneasy by their refusing to receive any more.

2. By using thinner and more porous bed-clothes, which will suffer the perspirable matter more easily to pass through them, we are less incommoded, such being longer tolerable.

3. When you are awakened by this uneasiness, and find you cannot easily sleep again, get out of bed, beat up and turn your pillow, shake the bed-clothes well, with at least twenty shakes, then throw the bed open and leave it to cool; in the meanwhile, continuing undrest, walk about your chamber till your skin has had time to discharge its load, which it will do sooner as the air may be dried and colder. When you begin to feel the cold air unpleasant, then return to your bed, and you will soon fall asleep, and your sleep will be sweet and pleasant. All the scenes presented to your

fancy will be too of the pleasing kind. I am often as agreeably entertained with them as by the scenery of an opera. If you happen to be too indolent to get out of bed, you may, instead of it, lift up your bed-clothes with one arm and leg, so as to draw in a good deal of fresh air, and by letting them fall force it out again. This, repeated twenty times, will so clear them of the perspirable matter they have imbibed, as to permit your sleeping well for some time afterwards. But this latter method is not equal to the former.

Those who do not love trouble, and can afford to have two beds, will find great luxury in rising, when they wake in a hot bed, and going into the cool one. Such shifting of beds would also be of great service to persons ill of a fever, as it refreshes and frequently procures sleep. A very large bed, that will admit a removal so distant from the first situation as to be cool and sweet, may in a degree answer the same end.

One or two observations more will conclude this little piece. Care must be taken when you lie down, to dispose your pillow so as to suit your manner of placing your head, and to be perfectly easy; then place your limbs so as not to bear inconveniently hard upon one another, as, for instance, the joints of your ancles: for though a bad position may at first give but little pain and be hardly noticed, yet a continuance will render it less tolerable, and the uneasiness may come on while

you are asleep, and disturb your imagination. These are the rules of the art. But though they will generally prove effectual in producing the end intended, there is a case in which the most punctual observance of them will be totally fruitless. I need not mention the case to you, my dear friend, but my account of the art would be imperfect without it. The case is, when the person who desires to have pleasant dreams has not taken care to preserve, what is necessary above all things,

A GOOD CONSCIENCE.

THE EPHEMERA,

An Emblem of Human Life (*Written in* 1778.)

TO MADAME BRILLON, *of Passy*.

YOU may remember, my dear friend, that when we lately spent that happy day in the delightful garden and sweet society of the Moulin Joly, I stopt a little in one of our walks, and staid some time behind the company. We had been shown numberless skeletons of a kind of little fly, called an ephemera, whose successive generations, we were told, were bred and expired within the day. I happened to see a living company of them on a leaf, who appeared to be engaged in conversation. You know I understand all the inferior animal tongues: my too great application to the study of them is the best excuse I can give for the little pro-

gress I have made in your charming language. I listened through curiosity to the discourse of these little creatures; but as they, in their national vivacity, spoke three or four together, I could make but little of their conversation. I found, however, by some broken expressions that I heard now and then, they were disputing warmly on the merit of two foreign musicians, one a *cousin*, the other a *moscheto*; in which dispute they spent their time, seemingly as regardless of the shortness of life as if they had been sure of living a month. Happy people! thought I, you live certainly under a wise, just, and mild government, since you have no public grievances to complain of, nor any subject of contention but the perfections and imperfections of foreign music. I turned my head from them to an old grey-headed one who was single on another leaf, and talking to himself. Being amused with his soliloquy, I put it down in writing, in hopes it will likewise amuse her to whom I am so much indebted for the most pleasing of all amusements, her delicious company and heavenly harmony.

"It was," said he, "the opinion of learned philosophers of our race, who lived and florished long before my time, that this vast world, the Moulin Joly, could not itself subsist more than eighteen hours; and I think there was some foundation for that opinion, since, by the apparent motion of the great luminary that gives life to all nature, and which

in my time has evidently declined considerably towards the ocean at the end of our earth, it must then finish its course, be extinguished in the waters that surround us, and leave the world in cold and darkness, necessarily producing universal death and destruction. I have lived seven of those hours, a great age, being no less than four hundred and twenty minutes of time. How very few of us continue so long! I have seen generations born, florish, and expire. My present friends are the children and grand-children of the friends of my youth, who are now, alas, no more! And I must soon follow them; for, by the course of nature, though still in health, I cannot expect to live above seven or eight minutes longer. What now avails all my toil and labor, in amassing honey-dew on this leaf, which I cannot live to enjoy! What the political struggles I have been engaged in, for the good of my compatriot inhabitants of this bush, or my philosophical studies for the benefit of our race in general! for in politics, what can laws do without morals? Our present race of ephemeræ will in a course of minutes become corrupt, like those of other and older bushes, and consequently as wretched: and in philosophy how small our progress! Alas! art is long, and life is short! My friends would comfort me with the idea of a name, they say, I shall leave behind me; and they tell me I have lived long enough to nature and to glory. But what will fame be to an ephemera who no

longer exists? and what will become of all history in the eighteenth hour, when the world itself, even the whole Moulin Joly, shall come to its end, and be buried in universal ruin?"

To me, after all my eager pursuits, no solid pleasures now remain, but the reflection of a long life spent in meaning well, the sensible conversation of a few good lady ephemera, and now and then a kind smile and a tune from the ever amiable *Brilliante*.

B. FRANKLIN.

THE WHISTLE.

(TO MADAME BRILLON.)

Passy, November 10, 1779.

I RECEIVED my dear friend's two letters, one for Wednesday and one for Saturday. This is again Wednesday. I do not deserve one for to-day, because I have not answered the former. But indolent as I am, and averse to writing, the fear of having no more of your pleasing epistles, if I do not contribute to the correspondence, obliges me to take up my pen; and as Mr. B. has kindly sent me word, that he sets out to-morrow to see you, instead of spending this Wednesday evening as I have done its name-sakes, in your delightful company, I sit down to spend it in thinking of you, in writing to you, and in reading over and over again your letters.

I am charmed with your description of Para-

dise, and with your plan of living there; and I approve much of your conclusion, that, in the mean time, we should draw all the good we can from this world. In my opinion, we might all draw more good from it than we do, and suffer less evil, if we would take care not to give too much for *whistles*. For to me it seems, that most of the unhappy people we meet with, are become so by neglect of that caution.

You ask what I mean? You love stories, and will excuse my telling one of myself.

When I was a child of seven years old, my friends, on a holiday, filled my pocket with coppers. I went directly to a shop where they sold toys for children; and, being charmed with the sound of a *whistle*, that I met by the way in the hands of another boy, I voluntarily offered and gave all my money for one. I then came home, and went whistling all over the house, much pleased with my *whistle*, but disturbing all the family. My brothers, and sisters, and cousins, understanding the bargain I had made, told me I had given four times as much for it as it was worth; put me in mind what good things I might have bought with the rest of the money; and laughed at me so much for my folly, that I cried with vexation; and the reflection gave me more chagrin than the *whistle* gave me pleasure.

This however was afterwards of use to me, the impression continuing on my mind: so that often.

when I was tempted to buy some unnecessary thing, I said to myself, *Don't give too much for the whistle;* and I saved my money.

As I grew up, came into the world, and observed the actions of men, I thought I met with many, very many, who *gave too much for the whistle.*

When I saw one too ambitious of court favor, sacrificing his time in attendance on levées, his repose, his liberty, his virtue, and perhaps his friends, to attain it, I have said to myself, *This man gives too much for his whistle.*

When I saw another fond of popularity, constantly employing himself in political bustles, neglecting his own affairs, and ruining them by that neglect, *He pays, indeed,* said I, *too much for his whistle.*

If I knew a miser, who gave up every kind of comfortable living, all the pleasure of doing good to others, all the esteem of his fellow-citizens, and the joys of benevolent friendship, for the sake of accumulating wealth, *Poor man,* said I, *you pay too much for your whistle.*

When I met with a man of pleasure, sacrificing every laudable improvement of the mind, or of his fortune, to mere corporeal sensations, and ruining his health in their pursuit, *Mistaken man,* said I, *you are providing pain for yourself, instead of pleasure: you give too much for your whistle.*

If I see one fond of appearance, or fine clothes,

fine houses, fine furniture, fine equipages, all above his fortune, for which he contracts debts, and ends his career in a prison, *Alas!* say I, *he has paid dear, very dear, for his whistle.*

When I see a beautiful sweet-tempered girl, married to an ill-natured brute of a husband, *What a pity,* say I, *that she should pay so much for a whistle!*

In short, I conceive that great part of the miseries of mankind are brought upon them by the false estimates they have made of the value of things, and by their *giving too much for their whistles.*

Yet I ought to have charity for these unhappy people, when I consider, that with all this wisdom of which I am boasting, there are certain things in the world so tempting, for example, the apples of king John, which happily are not to be bought; for if they were put to sale by auction, I might very easily be led to ruin myself in the purchase, and find that I had once more given too much for the *whistle.*

Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me ever yours very sincerely and with unalterable affection,

B. FRANKLIN.

A PETITION

To those who have the Superintendency of Education.

I ADDRESS myself to all the friends of youth, and conjure them to direct their compassionate regards

to my unhappy fate, in order to remove the prejudices of which I am the victim. There are twin sisters of us; and the two eyes of man do not more resemble, nor are capable of being upon better terms with each other, than my sister and myself, were it not for the partiality of our parents, who make the most injurious distinctions between us. From my infancy, I have been led to consider my sister as a being of a more elevated rank. I was suffered to grow up without the least instruction, while nothing was spared in her education. She had masters to teach her writing, drawing, music, and other accomplishments; but if by chance I touched a pencil, a pen, or a needle, I was bitterly rebuked; and more than once I have been beaten for being awkard, and wanting a graceful manner. It is true, my sister associated me with her upon some occasions; but she always made a point of taking the lead, calling upon me only from necessity, or to figure by her side.

But conceive not, sirs, that my complaints are instigated merely by vanity.—No; my uneasiness is occasioned by an object much more serious. It is the practice in our family, that the whole business of providing for its subsistence falls upon my sister and myself. If any indisposition should attack my sister—and I mention it in confidence upon this occasion, that she is subject to the gout, the rheumatism, and cramp, without making mention of other accidents—what would be the fate of

our poor family? Must not the regret of our parents be excessive, at having placed so great a difference between sisters who are so perfectly equal? Alas! we must perish from distress: for it would not be in my power even to scrawl a suppliant petition for relief, having been obliged to employ the hand of another in transcribing the request which I have now the honor to prefer to you.

Condescend, sirs, to make my parents sensible of the injustice of an exclusive tenderness, and of the necessity of distributing their care and affection among all their children equally. I am, with a profound respect, sirs, your obedient servant,

THE LEFT HAND.

THE HANDSOME AND DEFORMED LEG.

THERE are two sorts of people in the world, who, with equal degrees of health and wealth, and the other comforts of life, become, the one happy, and the other miserable. This arises very much from the different views in which they consider things, persons, and events; and the effect of those different views upon their own minds.

In whatever situation men can be placed, they may find conveniencies and inconveniencies; in whatever company, they may find persons and conversation more or less pleasing; at whatever table, they may meet with meats and drinks of

better and worse taste, dishes better and worse dressed; in whatever climate, they will find good and bad weather; under whatever government, they may find good and bad laws, and good and bad administration of those laws; in whatever poem, or work of genius, they may see faults and beauties; in almost every face, and every person, they may discover fine features and defects, good and bad qualities.

Under these circumstances, the two sorts of people above-mentioned fix their attention; those who are disposed to be happy, on the conveniencies of things, the pleasant parts of conversation, the well-dressed dishes, the goodness of the wines, the fine weather, &c. and enjoy all with cheerfulness. Those who are to be unhappy, think and speak only of the contraries. Hence they are continually discontented themselves, and, by their remarks, sour the pleasures of society, offend personally many people, and make themselves everywhere disagreeable. If this turn of mind was founded in nature, such unhappy persons would be the more to be pitied. But as the disposition to criticise, and to be disgusted, is perhaps taken up originally by imitation, and is unawares grown into a habit, which, though at present strong, may nevertheless be cured, when those who have it are convinced of its bad effects on their felicity, I hope this little admonition may be of service to them, and put them on changing a habit, which, though

in the exercise it is chiefly an act of imagination, yet has serious consequences in life, as it brings on real griefs and misfortunes. For, as many are offended by, and nobody loves this sort of people, no one shows them more than the most common civility and respect, and scarcely that; and this frequently puts them out of humor, and draws them into disputes and contentions. If they aim at obtaining some advantage in rank or fortune, nobody wishes them success, or will stir a step, or speak a word, to favor their pretensions. If they incur public censure or disgrace, no one will defend or excuse, and many join to aggravate their misconduct, and render them completely odious. If these people will not change this bad habit, and condescend to be pleased with what is pleasing, without fretting themselves and others about the contraries, it is good for others to avoid an acquaintance with them; which is always disagreeable, and sometimes very inconvenient, especially when one finds oneself entangled in their quarrels.

An old philosophical friend of mine was grown, from experience, very cautious in this particular, and carefully avoided any intimacy with such people. He had, like other philosophers, a thermometer to show him the heat of the weather, and a barometer to mark when it was likely to prove good or bad; but there being no instrument invented to discover, at first sight, this unpleasing disposition in a person, he for that purpose made

use of his legs; one of which was remarkably handsome, the other, by some accident, crooked and deformed. If a stranger, at the first interview, regarded his ugly leg more than his handsome one, he doubted him. If he spoke of it, and took no notice of the handsome leg, that was sufficient to determine my philosopher to have no further acquaintance with him. Every body has not this two-legged instrument; but every one, with a little attention, may observe signs of that carping, fault-finding disposition, and take the same resolution of avoiding the acquaintance of those infected with it. I therefore advise those critical, querulous, discontented, unhappy people, that if they wish to be respected and beloved by others, and happy in themselves, they should *leave off looking at the ugly leg*.

MORALS OF CHESS.

[PLAYING at chess is the most ancient and most universal game known among men; for its original is beyond the memory of history, and it has, for numberless ages, been the amusement of all the civilised nations of Asia, the Persians, the Indians, and the Chinese. Europe has had it above a thousand years; the Spaniards have spread it over their part of America; and it has lately begun to make its appearance in the United States. It is so interesting in itself, as not to need the view of gain

to induce engaging in it; and thence it is seldom played for money. Those therefore who have leisure for such diversions, cannot find one that is more innocent: and the following piece, written with a view to correct (among a few young friends) some little improprieties in the practice of it, shows at the same time that it may, in its effects on the mind, be not merely innocent, but advantageous, to the vanquished as well as the victor.]

THE game of chess is not merely an idle amusement. Several very valuable qualities of the mind, useful in the course of human life, are to be acquired or strengthened by it, so as to become habits, ready on all occasions. For life is a kind of chess, in which we have often points to gain, and competitors or adversaries to contend with, and in which there is a vast variety of good and evil events, that are, in some degree, the effects of prudence or the want of it. By playing at chess, then, we may learn,

I. *Foresight*, which looks a little into futurity, and considers the consequences that may attend an action: for it is continually occurring to the player, "If I move this piece, what will be the advantage of my new situation? What use can my adversary make of it to annoy me? What other moves can I make to support it, and to defend myself from his attacks?"

II. *Circumspection,* which surveys the whole chess-board, or scene of action; the relations of the several pieces and situations, the dangers they are respectively exposed to, the several possibilities of their aiding each other, the probabilities that the adversary may take this or that move, and attack this or the other piece, and what different means can be used to avoid his stroke, or turn its consequences against him.

III. *Caution,* not to make our moves too hastily. This habit is best acquired by observing strictly the laws of the game; such as, "If you touch a piece, you must move it somewhere; if you set it down, you must let it stand:" and it is therefore best that these rules should be observed, as the game thereby becomes more the image of human life, and particularly of war; in which, if you have incautiously put yourself into a bad and dangerous position, you cannot obtain your enemy's leave to withdraw your troops, and place them more securely, but you must abide all the consequences of your rashness.

And, lastly, we learn by chess the habit of *not being discouraged by present bad appearances in the state of our affairs,* the habit of *hoping for a favorable change,* and that of *persevering in the search of resources.* The game is so full of events, there is such a variety of turns in it, the fortune of it is so subject to sudden vicissitudes, and one so frequently, after long contemplation, discovers the

means of extricating oneself from a supposed insurmountable difficulty, that one is encouraged to continue the contest to the last, in hopes of victory by our own skill, or at least of getting a stale mate, by the negligence of our adversary. And whoever considers, what in chess he often sees instances of, that particular pieces of success are apt to produce presumption, and its consequent inattention, by which the losses may be recovered, will learn not to be too much discouraged by the present success of his adversary, nor to despair of final good fortune upon every little check he receives in the pursuit of it.

That we may therefore be induced more frequently to choose this beneficial amusement, in preference to others which are not attended with the same advantages, every circumstance which may increase the pleasures of it should be regarded; and every action or word that is unfair, disrespectful, or that in any way may give uneasiness, should be avoided, as contrary to the immediate intention of both the players, which is to pass the time agreeably.

Therefore, first, if it is agreed to play according to the strict rules, then those rules are to be exactly observed by both parties, and should not be insisted on for one side, while deviated from by the other—for this is not equitable.

Secondly, if it is agreed not to observe the rules exactly, but one party demands indulgencies, he

should then be as willing to allow them to the other.

Thirdly, no false move should ever be made to extricate yourself out of difficulty, or to gain an advantage. There can be no pleasure in playing with a person once detected in such unfair practice.

Fourthly, if your adversary is long in playing, you ought not to hurry him, or express any uneasiness at his delay. You should not sing, nor whistle, nor look at your watch, nor take up a book to read, nor make a tapping with your feet on the floor, or with your fingers on the table, nor do any thing that may disturb his attention. For all these things displease; and they do not show your skill in playing, but your craftiness or your rudeness.

Fifthly, you ought not to endeavor to amuse and deceive your adversary, by pretending to have made bad moves, and saying, that you have now lost the game, in order to make him secure and careless, and inattentive to your schemes: for this is fraud and deceit, not skill in the game.

Sixthly, you must not, when you have gained a victory, use any triumphing or insulting expression, nor show too much pleasure; but endeavor to console your adversary, and make him less dissatisfied with himself, by every kind of civil expression that may be used with truth, such as, "you understand the game better than I, but yo:

are a little inattentive;" or, "you play too fast;" or, "you had the best of the game, but something happened to divert your thoughts, and that turned it in my favor."

Seventhly, if you are a spectator while others play, observe the most perfect silence. For if you give advice, you offend both parties, him against whom you give it, because it may cause the loss of his game, him in whose favor you give it, because, though it be good and he follows it, he loses the pleasure he might have had, if you had permitted him to think until it had occurred to himself. Even after a move or moves, you must not, by replacing the pieces, show how it might have been placed better; for that displeases, and may occasion disputes and doubts about their true situation. All talking to the players lessens or diverts their attention, and is therefore unpleasing. Nor should you give the least hint to either party, by any kind of noise or motion. If you do, you are unworthy to be a spectator. If you have a mind to exercise or show your judgment, do it in playing your own game, when you have an opportunity, not in criticising, or meddling with, or counselling the play of others.

Lastly, if the game is not to be played rigorously, according to the rules above mentioned, then moderate your desire of victory over your adversary, and be pleased with one over yourself. Snatch not eagerly at every advantage offered by

his unskilfulness or inattention; but point out to him kindly, that by such a move he places or leaves a piece in danger and unsupported; that by another he will put his king in a perilous situation, &c. By this generous civility (so opposite to the unfairness above forbidden) you may, indeed, happen to lose the game to your opponent, but you will win what is better, his esteem, his respect, and his affection, together with the silent approbation and good-will of impartial spectators.

CONTE.

Il y avoit un officier, homme de bien, appelé Montresor, qui étoit très malade: son curé, croyant qu'il alloit mourir, lui conseilla de faire sa paix avec Dieu, afin d'être reçu en Paradis. "Je n'ai pas beaucoup d'inquiétude à ce sujet," dit Montresor, "car j'ai eu, la nuit dernière, une vision qui m'a tout-à-fait tranquillisé." "Quelle vision avez-vous eue?" dit le bon prêtre. "J'étois," répondit Montresor, "à la porte du Paradis, avec une foule de gens qui vouloient entrer. Et St. Pierre demandoit à chacun, de quelle religion il étoit? L'un répondoit, Je suis Catholique Romain. Hé bien, disoit St. Pierre, entrez, et prenez votre place là parmi les Catholiques. Un autre dit, qu'il étoit de l'église Anglicane. Hé bien, dit St. Pierre, entrez,

et placez-vous là parmi les Anglicans. Un autre dit qu'il étoit Quaker. Entrez, dit St. Pierre, et prenez place parmi les Quakers. Enfin, mon tour étant arrivé, il me demanda de quelle religion j'étois? Hélas! répondis-je, malheureusement le pauvre Jacques Montresor n'en a point. C'est dommage, dit le Saint, je ne sais où vous placer; *mais entrez, toujours; vous vous mettrez où vous pourrez.*"

[*Translation.*]

A TALE.

AN officer named Montresor, a worthy man, was very ill. The curate of his parish, thinking him likely to die, advised him to make his peace with God, that he might be received into Paradise. "I have not much uneasiness on the subject," said Montresor, "for I had a vision last night which has perfectly tranquillised my mind."—"What vision have you had?" said the good priest. "I was," replied Montresor, "at the gate of Paradise, with a crowd of people who wished to enter, and St. Peter inquired of every one what religion he was of! One answered, I am a Roman Catholic;—Well, said St. Peter, enter and take your place there among the *Catholics.* Another said he was of the Church of England;—Well, said the Saint, enter and place yourself there among the *Anglicans.* A third said he was a Quaker;—Enter, said St. Peter, and take your place among the *Quakers.* At length, my turn being come, he asked me of what religion I was? Alas! said I, poor Jacques Montresor has none. 'Tis pity, said the Saint; I know not where to place you, but *enter nevertheless, and place yourself where you can.*"

AN ARABIAN TALE.

Albumazar, the good magician, retired in his old age to the top of the lofty mountain Calabut; avoided the society of men, but was visited nightly by genii and spirits of the first rank, who loved him, and amused him with their instructive conversation.

Belubel the strong came one evening to see Albumazar; his height was seven leagues, and his wings when spread might overshadow a kingdom. He laid himself gently down between the long ridges of Elulem: the tops of the trees in the valley were his couch; his head rested on Calabut as on a pillow, and his face shone on the tent of Albumazar.

The magician spoke to him with rapturous piety of the wisdom and goodness of the Most High; but expressed his wonder at the existence of evil in the world, which he said he could not account for by all the efforts of his reason.

Value not thyself, my friend, said Belubel, on that quality which thou callest reason. If thou knewest its origin and its weakness, it would rather be matter of humiliation.

Tell me then, said Albumazar, what I do not know; inform my ignorance, and enlighten my understanding. Contemplate, said Albumazar, the scale of beings from an elephant down to an oyster. Thou seest a gradual diminution of faculties and

powers, so small in each step, that the difference is scarce perceptible. There is no gap, but the gradation is complete. Men in general do not know, but thou knowest, that in ascending from an elephant to the infinitely Great, Good, and Wise, there is also a long gradation of beings, who possess powers and faculties of which thou canst yet have no conception.

DIALOGUE BETWEEN FRANKLIN AND THE GOUT.

Midnight, October 22, 1780.

Franklin. Eh! Oh! Eh! What have I done to merit these cruel sufferings?

Gout. Many things: you have ate and drank too freely, and too much indulged those legs of yours in their indolence.

Franklin. Who is it that accuses me?

Gout. It is I, even I, the Gout.

Franklin. What! my enemy in person?

Gout. No, not your enemy.

Franklin. I repeat it; my enemy: for you would not only torment my body to death, but ruin my good name: you reproach me as a glutton and a tippler; now all the world that knows me will allow, that I am neither the one nor the other.

Gout. The world may think as it pleases: it is always very complaisant to itself, and sometimes to its friends; but I very well know, that the quantity

of meat and drink proper for a man, who takes a reasonable degree of exercise, would be too much for another, who never takes any.

Franklin. I take—Eh! Oh!—as much exercise —Eh!—as I can, Madam Gout. You know my sedentary state, and on that account, it would seem, Madam Gout, as if you might spare me a little, seeing it is not altogether my own fault.

Gout. Not a jot; your rhetoric and your politeness are thrown away; your apology avails nothing. If your situation in life is a sedentary one, your amusements, your recreations, at least, should be active. You ought to walk or ride; or, if the weather prevents that, play at billiards. But let us examine your course of life. While the mornings are long, and you have leisure to go abroad, what do you do? Why, instead of gaining an appetite for breakfast, by salutary exercise, you amuse yourself with books, pamphlets, or newspapers, which commonly are not worth the reading. Yet you eat an inordinate breakfast, four dishes of tea, with cream, and one or two buttered toasts, with slices of hung beef, which I fancy are not things the most easily digested. Immediately afterward you sit down to write at your desk, or converse with persons who apply to you on business. Thus the time passes till one, without any kind of bodily exercise. But all this I could pardon, in regard, as you say, to your sedentary condition. But what is your practice after dinner? Walking in

the beautiful gardens of those friends with whom you have dined, would be the choice of men of sense: yours is, to be fixed down to chess, where you are found engaged for two or three hours! This is your perpetual recreation, which is the least eligible of any for a sedentary man, because, instead of accelerating the motion of the fluids, the rigid attention it requires helps to retard the circulation and obstruct internal secretions. Wrapt in the speculations of this wretched game, you destroy your constitution. What can be expected from such a course of living, but a body replete with stagnant humors, ready to fall a prey to all kinds of dangerous maladies, if I, the Gout, did not occasionally bring you relief by agitating these humors, and so purifying or dissipating them? If it was in some nook or alley in Paris, deprived of walks, that you played awhile at chess after dinner, this might be excusable; but the same taste prevails with you in Passy, Auteuil, Montmartre, or Sanoy, places where there are the finest gardens and walks, a pure air, beautiful women, and most agreeable and instructive conversation; all which you might enjoy by frequenting the walks. But these are rejected for this abominable game of chess. Fie, then, Mr. Franklin! But amidst my instructions, I had almost forgot to administer my wholesome corrections: so take that twinge—and that.

Franklin. Oh! Eh! Oh! Ohhh! As much instructions as you please, Madam Gout, and as

many reproaches; but pray, Madam, a truce with your corrections!

Gout. No, sir, no—I will not abate a particle of what is so much for your good—therefore—

Franklin. Oh! Ehhh!—It is not fair to say I take no exercise, when I do very often, going out to dine and returning in my carriage.

Gout. That of all imaginable exercise is the most slight and insignificant, if you allude to the motion of a carriage suspended on springs. By observing the degree of heat obtained by different kinds of motion, we may form an estimate of the quantity of exercise given by each. Thus, for example, if you turn out to walk in winter with cold feet, in an hour's time you will be in a glow all over: ride on horseback, the same effect will scarcely be perceived by four hours' round trotting; but if you loll in a carriage, such as you have mentioned, you may travel all day, and gladly enter the last inn to warm your feet by a fire. Flatter yourself then no longer, that half an hour's airing in your carriage deserves the name of exercise. Providence has appointed few to roll in carriages, while he has given to all a pair of legs, which are machines infinitely more commodious and serviceable. Be grateful, then, and make a proper use of yours. Would you know how they forward the circulation of your fluids, in the very action of transporting you from place to place; observe when you walk, that all your weight is alternately

thrown from one leg to the other; this occasions a great pressure on the vessels of the foot, and repels their contents: when relieved, by the weight being thrown on the other foot, the vessels of the first are allowed to replenish, and by a return of this weight, this repulsion again succeeds; thus accelerating the circulation of the blood. The heat produced in any given time, depends on the degree of this acceleration: the fluids are shaken, the humors attenuated, the secretions facilitated, and all goes well; the cheeks are ruddy, and health is established. Behold your fair friend at Auteuil:[1] a lady who received from bounteous nature more really useful science, than half a dozen such pretenders to philosophy as you, have been able to extract from all your books. When she honors you with a visit, it is on foot. She walks all hours of the day, and leaves indolence and its concomitant maladies to be endured by her horses. In this see at once the preservative of her health and personal charms. But when you go to Auteuil, you must have your carriage, though it is no further from Passy to Auteuil, than from Auteuil to Passy.

Franklin. Your reasonings grow very tiresome.

Gout. I stand corrected. I will be silent and continue my office: take that, and that.

Franklin. Oh! Ohh! Talk on, I pray you!

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[1] Madame Helvetius.

Gout. No, no; I have a good number of twinges for you to-night, and you may be sure of some more to-morrow.

Franklin. What, with such a fever! I shall go distracted. Oh! Eh! Can no one bear it for me?

Gout. Ask that of your horses; they have served you faithfully.

Franklin. How can you so cruelly sport with my torments?

Gout. Sport! I am very serious. I have here a list of offences against your own health distinctly written, and can justify every stroke inflicted on you.

Franklin. Read it then.

Gout. It is too long a detail; but I will briefly mention some particulars.

Franklin. Proceed. I am all attention.

Gout. Do you remember how often you have promised yourself, the following morning, a walk in the grove of Boulogne, in the garden de la Muette, or in your own garden, and have violated your promise, alleging, at one time, it was too cold, at another too warm, too windy, too moist, or what else you pleased; when in truth it was too nothing, but your insuperable love of ease?

Franklin. That I confess may have happened occasionally, probably ten times in a year.

Gout. Your confession is very far short of the truth; the gross amount is one hundred and ninety-nine times.

Franklin. Is it possible?

Gout. So possible that it is fact; you may rely on the accuracy of my statement. You know Mr. Brillon's gardens, and what fine walks they contain: you know the handsome flight of an hundred steps, which lead from the terrace above to the lawn below. You have been in the practice of visiting this amiable family twice a-week after dinner, and it is a maxim of your own, that "a man may take as much exercise in walking a mile up and down stairs, as in ten on level ground," what an opportunity was here for you to have had exercise in both these ways! Did you embrace it, and how often?

Franklin. I cannot immediately answer that question.

Gout. I will do it for you; not once.

Franklin. Not once?

Gout. Even so. During the summer you went there at six o'clock. You found the charming lady, with her lovely children and friends, eager to walk with you, and entertain you with their agreeable conversation; and what has been your choice? Why, to sit on the terrace, satisfying yourself with the fine prospect, and passing your eye over the beauties of the garden below, without taking one step to descend and walk about in them. On the contrary, you call for tea and the chess-board; and lo! you are occupied in your seat till nine o'clock, and that besides two hours' play after dinner: and

then, instead of walking home, which would have bestirred you a little, you step into your carriage. How absurd to suppose that all this carelessness can be reconcileable with health, without my interposition!

Franklin. I am convinced now of the justness of poor Richard's remark, that "Our debts and our sins are always greater than we think for."

Gout. So it is. You philosophers are sages in your maxims, and fools in your conduct.

Franklin. But do you charge among my crimes, that I return in a carriage from Mr. Brillon's?

Gout. Certainly: for having been seated all the while, you cannot object the fatigue of the day, and cannot want therefore the relief of a carriage.

Franklin. What then would you have me do with my carriage?

Gout. Burn it, if you choose: you would at least get heat out of it once in this way; or, if you dislike that proposal, here's another for you: observe the poor peasants who work in the vineyards and grounds about the villages of Passy, Auteuil, Chaillot, &c.: you may find every day among these deserving creatures, four or five old men and women, bent and perhaps crippled by weight of years, and too long and too great labor. After a most fatiguing day, these people have to trudge a mile or two to their smoky huts. Order your coachman to set them down. This is an act that will be good for your soul; and at the same time, after

your visit to the Brillons, if you return on foot, that will be good for your body.

Franklin. Ah! how tiresome you are!

Gout. Well, then, to my office: it should not be forgotten that I am your physician. There.

Franklin. Ohhh! what a devil of a physician!

Gout. How ungrateful you are to say so! Is it not I who, in the character of your physician, have saved you from the palsy, dropsy, and apoplexy? one or other of which would have done for you long ago, but for me.

Franklin. I submit, and thank you for the past, but intreat the discontinuance of your visits for the future; for in my mind, one had better die than be cured so dolefully. Permit me just to hint, that I have also not been unfriendly to *you*. I never feed physician, or quack of any kind, to enter the list against you: if then you do not leave me to my repose, it may be said you are ungrateful too.

Gout. I can scarcely acknowledge that as any objection. As to quacks, I despise them; they may kill you, indeed, but cannot injure me. And as to regular physicians, they are at last convinced, that the gout, in such a subject as you are, is no disease, but a remedy; and wherefore cure a remedy?—but to our business—there.

Franklin. Oh! Oh!—for heaven's sake leave me; and I promise faithfully never more to play at chess, but to take exercise daily, and live temperately.

Gout. I know you too well. You promise fair; but, after a few months of good health, you will return to your old habits; your fine promises will be forgotten like the forms of the last year's clouds. Let us then finish the account, and I will go. But I leave you with an assurance of visiting you again at a proper time and place; for my object is your good, and you are sensible now that I am your *real friend.*

To Madame Helvetius, at Auteuil.

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—— "And now I mention your friends, let me tell you that I have in my way been trying to form some hypothesis to account for your having so many, and of such various kinds. I see that statesmen, philosophers, historians, poets, and men of learning of all sorts, are drawn around you, and seem as willing to attach themselves to you as straws about a fine piece of amber. It is not that you make pretension to any of their sciences; and if you did, similarity of studies does not always make people love one another. It is not that you take pains to engage them: artless simplicity is a striking part of your character. I would not attempt to explain it by the story of the ancient, who, being asked why philosophers sought the acquaintance of kings, and kings not that of philosophers, replied, that philosophers knew what they

wanted, which was not always the case with kings. Yet thus far the comparison may go, that we find in your sweet society, that charming benevolence, that amiable attention to oblige, that disposition to please and be pleased, which we do not always find in the society of one another. It springs from you; it has its influence on us all; and in your company we are not only pleased with you, but better pleased with one another, and with ourselves.

"I am ever, with great respect and affection, &c.

B. F."

A Madame Helvetius.

Chagriné de votre résolution barbare, prononcée si positivement hier au soir, de rester seule pendant la vie en honneur de votre cher mari, je me retirois chez moi, tombois sur mon lit, me croyois mort, et que je me trouvois dans les Champs Elisées.

On me demanda si j'avois envie de voir quelques personnages particuliers.—"Menez-moi chez les philosophes."—"Il y en a deux qui demeurent ici près dans ce jardin; ils sont de très-bons voisins, et très-amis l'un de l'autre."—"Qui sont-ils?" "Socrate et Helvétius." "Je les estime prodigieusement tous les deux; mais faites-moi voir premièrement Helvétius, parce que j'entends un peu de François et pas un mot de Grec."—Il m'a reçu avec beaucoup de courtoisie, m'ayant connu, di-

soit-il, de réputation il y avoit quelque temps. Il me demanda mille choses sur la guerre, et sur l'état présent de la religion, de la liberté, et du gouvernement en France.—"Vous ne demandez donc rien, lui dis-je, de votre chère amie Madame Helvétius; et cependant elle vous aime encore excessivement, et il n'y a qu'une heure que j'étois chez elle."—"Ah!" dit-il, "vous me faites ressouvenir de mon ancienne félicité. Mais il faut l'oublier pour être heureux ici. Pendant plusieurs des premières années, je n'ai pensé qu'à elle. Enfin je suis consolé. J'ai pris une autre femme; la plus semblable à elle que j'ai pu trouver. Elle n'est pas, il est vrai, tout-à-fait si belle, mais elle a autant de bon sens, beaucoup d'esprit, et elle m'aime infiniment. Son étude continuelle est de me plaire, et elle est sortie actuellement chercher le meilleur nectar et ambrosie pour me régaler ce soir: restez avec moi et vous la verrez." "J'apperçois," dis-je, "que votre ancienne amie est plus fidelle que vous: car plusieurs bon partis lui ont été offerts qu'elle a refusés tous. Je vous confesse que je l'ai aimée, moi, à la folie; mais elle étoit dure à mon égard, et m'a rejeté absolument pour l'amour de vous." "Je vous plains," dit-il, "de votre malheur; car vraiment c'est une bonne et belle femme, et bien aimable. Mais l'Abbé de la R****, et l'Abbé M****, ne sont-ils pas encore quelquefois chez elle?" "Oui assurément; car elle n'a pas perdu un seul de vos amis."—"Si vous aviez gagné l'Abbé M**** (avec du

bon café à la crême) à parler pour vous, vous auriez peut-être réussi; car il est raisonneur subtil comme Duns Scotus ou St. Thomas; il met ses arguments en si bon ordre qu'ils deviennent presque irrésistibles. Et si l'Abbé de la R**** avoit été gagné (par quelque belle édition d'un vieux classique) à parler *contre* vous, cela auroit été mieux: car j'ai toujours observé, que quand il lui conseilla quelque chose, elle avoit un penchant très-fort à faire le revers."—A ces mots entra la nouvelle Madame Helvétius avec le nectar; à l'instant je l'ai reconnue pour être Madame Franklin, mon ancienne amie Américaine. Je l'ai réclamée, mais elle me dit froidement: "J'ai été votre bonne femme quarante-neuf années et quatre mois;—presqu'un demi-siècle; soyez content de cela. J'ai formé ici une nouvelle connexion, qui durera à l'éternité."

Indigné de ce refus de mon Euridice, je pris de suite la résolution de quitter ces ombres ingrates, et revenir en ce bon monde, revoir le soleil et vous.—Me voici!—*Vengeons nous!*

[*Translation.*]

LETTER TO MADAME HELVETIUS.

MORTIFIED at the barbarous resolution pronounced by you so positively yesterday evening, that you would remain single the rest of your life, as a compliment due to the memory of your husband, I retired to my chamber. Throwing myself upon my bed, I dreamt that I was dead, and was transported to the

Elysian Fields. I was asked whether I wished to see any persons in particular; to which I replied, that I wished to see the philosophers. "There are two who live here at hand in this garden; they are good neighbors, and very friendly towards one another." "Who are they?" "Socrates and Helvetius." "I esteem them both highly; but let me see Helvetius first, because I understand a little French, but not a word of Greek." I was conducted to him: he received me with much courtesy, having known me, he said, by character, some time past. He asked me a thousand questions relative to the war, the present state of religion, of liberty, of the government in France. "You do not inquire, then," said I, "after your dear friend Madame Helvetius; yet she loves you exceedingly: I was in her company not more than an hour ago." "Ah," said he, "you make me recur to my past happiness, which ought to be forgotten in order to be happy here. For many years I could think of nothing but her, though at length I am consoled. I have taken another wife, the most like her that I could find: she is not indeed altogether so handsome, but she has a great fund of wit and good sense; and her whole study is to please me. She is at this moment gone to fetch the best nectar and ambrosia to regale me: stay here a while and you will see her." "I perceive," said I, "that your former friend is more faithful to you than you are to her: she has had several good offers, but has refused them all. I will confess to you that I loved her extremely; but she was cruel to me, and rejected me peremptorily for your sake." "I pity you sincerely," said he, "for she is an excellent woman,—handsome, and amiable. But do not the Abbé de la R***, and the Abbé M****, visit her?" "Certainly they do: not one of your friends has dropped her acquaintance." "If you had gained the Abbé M**** with a bribe of good coffee and cream, perhaps you would have succeeded; for he is as deep a reasoner as Duns Scotus or Saint Thomas: he arranges and methodises his arguments in such a manner, that they are almost irresistible. Or, if by a fine edition of some old classic, you had gained the Abbé

de la R**** to speak *against* you, that would have been still better; as I always observed, that when he recommended any thing to her, she had a great inclination to do directly the contrary." As he finished these words the new Madame Helvetius entered with the nectar, and I recognised her immediately as my former American friend, Mrs. Franklin! I reclaimed her, but she answered me coldly: "I was a good wife to you for forty nine years and four months,—nearly half a century; let that content you. I have formed a new connexion here, which will last to eternity." Indignant at this refusal of my Euridice, I immediately resolved to quit those ungrateful shades, and return to this good world again, to behold the sun and you! Here I am—let us *avenge ourselves!*[1]

TRÈS-HUMBLE REQUETE PRÉSENTÉE A MADAME HELVÉTIUS PAR SES CHATS.

Très-illustre et très-bonne Dame,

Une nouvelle affreuse vient troubler le bonheur dont nous jouissions dans votre basse-cour et dans votre bûcher. Nous apprenons que sur un exposé calomnieux, nos ennemis, vos Abbés,[2] vous ont fait porter une sentence de proscription contre nous; qu'à l'aide d'une invention diabolique, nous devons être pris, mis dans un tonneau, roulés jusqu'à la rivière et abandonnés à la merci des flots; et au moment où nous vous griffonnons notre très-humble requête, nous entendons les coups de la hache et

[1] To appease prudery—the parties were between 70 and 80 years of age, when this gallant *plaisanterie* was written.

[2] Morellet et La Roche.

du marteau de votre cocher, qui façonne l'instrument du supplice qu'on nous prépare.

Mais, très-illustre dame, serons-nous donc condamnés sans être entendus; et serons-nous les seules de tant de créatures vivantes à vos dépens qui ne trouverons pas votre âme juste et sensible? Nous voyons tous les jours vos bienfaisantes mains nourrir deux ou trois cents poulets, autant de serins, des pigeons sans nombre, tous les moineaux de la banlieue, tous les merles du Bois de Boulogne, et jusqu'à des chiens; et nous seuls cesserions d'éprouver les effets de votre bienfaisance, et, ce qui est affreux à penser, nous deviendrions les objets d'une cruauté bien étrangère à votre âme et que vous n'aurez jamais eue que pour nous. Non, la bonté naturelle de votre cœur vous raménera à des sentimens plus dignes de votre *chatéité*.

Eh, quels crimes avons-nous commis? On nous accuse, (le dirons-nous jusqu'où s'emporte la calomnie?) on nous accuse de manger vos poulets lorsqu'ils sont encore jeunes, de détourner de tems en tems quelques pigeons, de guetter sans cesse vos serins et d'en accrocher quelques-uns par les mailles du treillage de votre volière, et de laisser les souris infester votre maison.

Mais suffit-il d'imputer des crimes pour faire des coupables? Nous pouvons repousser ces horribles accusations. Qu'il nous soit d'abord permis d'observer qu'on ne les appuie d'aucunes preuves. Quand on produiroit les pieds de quelques pigeons

ou les plumes d'un poulet, sont-ce là des témoins qui puissent être admis dans quelque tribunal que ce soit? Mais les grands crimes sont les suites de la misère et du besoin, et nous recevons tous les jours de vous, à dix-huit chats que nous sommes, une subsistance abondante. Il ne nous manque rien. Egratignerions-nous la main qui nous nourrit? Plus d'une fois, sous vos yeux, vos poulets sont venus manger avec nous au même plat, sans que vous ayez apperçu de notre part le plus léger mouvement d'impatience; et si l'on vous dit que nous ne mangeons jamais de poulets lorsqu'on nous observe, que c'est la nuit que nous commettons les meurtres dont on nous accuse, nous répondrons que ce sont nos calomniateurs qui se cachent dans les ténèbres pour tramer contre nous leurs lâches complots, puisqu'ils sont réduits à nous imputer des crimes nocturnes, que dément sans cesse notre conduite de tout le jour.

Mais, disent nos ennemis, la basse-cour de Madame lui coûte 25 louis par an, il s'y élève environ deux ou trois cents poulets, elle n'en mange pas cinquante, qui lui reviennent, par sa grande économie, à 12 liv. la pièce; et que devient le reste?

Nous oserons le demander, d'abord nous a-t-on donné les poulets en compte et en garde, et pouvons-nous en répondre? Au milieu de ce grande nombre d'êtres destructeurs, les hommes, tous convaincus que les poulets ne sont au monde que pour être mangés par eux, ce n'est pas sur nous que doivent porter les premiers soupçons. Il se fait

tous les Dimanches à la porte du Bois de Boulogne et dans les cabarets d'Auteuil cent fricassées; n'est-il pas plus que vraisemblable qu'il s'y glisse quelques-uns de vos poulets? et certes ce n'est pas de nous que les aubergistes les tiennent. Après tout, Madame, et sans prétendre faire l'apologie des voleurs de poulets, qu'il nous soit permis d'observer que quelles que soient les causes qui en diminuent un peu le nombre, elles sont dans l'ordre de la nature et salutaires pour vous-même dans leurs effets, puisqu'elles contiennent dans des limites convenables la multiplication de cette espèce, qui convertiroit bientôt votre maison toute entière en un poulaillier, et qui vous réduiroit à n'avoir plus de chemises pour avoir plus de poulets.

Quant aux pigeons, on a vu disparoître, il est vrai, plusieurs des enfans de *Coco*;[1] mais il ne faut pas que votre tendresse pour lui, qui va jusqu'à lui laisser casser vos porcelaines pourvu qu'il daigne manger dans votre main, vous rende injuste envers nous. Où est la preuve que nous ayons mangé ses enfans? Lui et ses pareils s'approchent-ils jamais de nous? Toujours sur les toits, ou se tenant à distance, ne nous montrent-ils pas une défiance dont nous aurions le droit d'être blessés. Qu'on visite tout le bûcher au printems prochain, et si l'on découvre quelque trace du meurtre, nous serons les premiers à rechercher et à livrer le coupable: mais quoi, les pigeons ne sont pas, comme

[1] Pigeon apprivoisé et favori de Madame Helvétius.

nous autres pauvres chats, attachés au sol qui les a vu naître ; ils peuvent voler par les airs à une autre patrie ; ceux qui vous manquent, jaloux sans doute de la préférence que vous montrez à quelques-uns d'entre eux, ont été chercher l'égalité dans des colombiers républicains, plutôt que de traîner l'aile sous la domination insolente de vos pigeons favoris.

L'accusation qu'on intente contre nous d'avoir attrapé quelques-uns de vos serins, est une imposture grossière. Les mailles de leur volière sont si petites, que lorsqu'en jouant nous essayons d'y passer nos pattes, nous avons beaucoup de peine à les en retirer. Nous nous amusons, il est vrai, quelquefois à voir de près leurs jeux innocens ; mais nous n'avons pas à nous reprocher le sang d'aucun de ces jolis oiseaux.

Nous ne nous défendrons pas de même d'avoir mangé autant de moineaux, de merles et de grives, que nous en avons pu attraper : mais ici nous avons pour nous vos Abbés mêmes, nos plus cruels ennemis : ils se plaignent sans cesse du dégât de cerises que les moineaux font, disent-ils, à leur préjudice. Le Sieur Abbé M. montre une haine ardente contre les grives et les merles, qui dépouillent vos treilles de raisins, ainsi que lui. Mais il nous semble, très-illustre Dame, qu'il vaudroit autant que vos raisins fussent mangés par des merles que par des Abbés, et qu'en vain ferons-nous la chasse à ces pillards ailés si vous tolérez chez vous d'autres

voleurs à deux pieds sans plumes qui y font encore de plus grands dégâts.

Nous savons qu'on nous accuse aussi de manger les rossignols qui ne volent rien, et qui chantent, dit-on, fort agréablement. Il se peut en effet que nous en ayons croqué quelques-uns, dans l'ignorance où nous étions de votre affection particulière pour eux ; mais leur plumage terne et gris ressemble beaucoup à celui des moineaux, et nous ne nous connoissons pas assez en musique pour distinguer le ramage des uns et des autres. Un chat de *M. Piccini*[1] nous a dit, que quand on ne savoit que *miauler* on ne pouvoit pas juger de l'art du chant. et cette maxime suffit à notre justification. Cependant nous mettrons désormais le plus grand soin à distinguer les *Gluckistes*,[2] qui sont, nous a-t-il dit, les moineaux, des *Piccinistes*, qui sont les rossignols. Nous vous supplions seulement de nous pardonner les erreurs où nous pourrions tomber en dénichant quelque couvée de *Piccinistes*, qu'il est impossible de reconnoître lorsqu'ils sont sans plumes, et qu'ils n'ont pas encore appris à chanter.

La dernière imputation que nous repousserons, très-illustre Dame, est celle qu'on tire contre nous du grand nombre de souris dont votre maison est infestée. Elles font, dit-on, un dégât horrible dans votre sucre et vos confitures; elles rongent les livres de vos savans, et jusqu'aux mules de Mademoiselle

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[1] Compositeur *Italien.* [2] *Gluck*, compositeur *Allemand.*

Luillier[1] dans le tems même qu'elle marche. On prétend que les chats n'étant créés et mis au monde par la Providence, (qui veille avec une égale bonté sur les chats et les souris,) que pour manger les souris, quand ils ne remplissent pas leur destination, on n'a rien de mieux à faire que de les noyer.

Certainement, très-illustre Dame, il vous est aisé de reconnoître le langage de l'intérêt personnel dans la bouche de nos accusateurs. Le Sieur Cabanis,[2] qui fait chez vous une consommation énorme de confitures et qui va sans cesse dérobant des morceaux de sucre lorsqu'il croit n'être pas vu, a ses raisons pour vous faire regarder comme un crime capital la gourmandise de quelques souris qui écornent un pain, ou entament avant lui un pot de gelée de groseilles: mais il montre une âme encore plus atroce qu'intéressée lorsqu'il nous juge dignes de mort parceque nous n'empêchons pas ces petites bêtes de faire la millième partie d'un dégât que lui-même, tout grand qu'il est, fait sans discrétion comme sans remords: et pousseroit-il plus loin sa barbarie envers nous si, comme lui et les souris, nous étions nous-mêmes des animaux *sucro-phages* et *confituri-vores*? N'est-il pas manifeste que sa gourmandise seule lui inspire des sentimens si cruels, et pourriez-vous leur donner entrée dans votre cœur?

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[1] Vieille femme-de-chambre de Madame H.

[2] Ami de Madame H. demeurant chez elle.

Pour les livres du Sieur Abbé de la Roche et de cet autre savant,[1] dont nous avons lu tout-à-l'heure le discours à l'Académie enveloppant un mou de veau que vous avez eu la bonté de nous faire donner; quel est donc le grand mal que les souris mangent un peu de leurs bouquins? A quoi leurs servent toutes leurs lectures? Depuis qu'ils vivent auprès de vous, ne doivent-ils pas s'être pleinement convaincus de l'inutilité du savoir? Ils vous voient bonne, sans le secours d'aucun *Traité de Morale;* aimable sans avoir lu *l'Art de Plaire* de notre historiographe Moncrief, et heureuse sans connoître *le Traité du Bonheur,* du malheureux Maupertuis; en même tems qu'ils sont les témoins journaliers de votre profonde ignorance. Ils savent beaucoup de choses, mais ils ignorent l'art que vous savez si bien de vous passer de rien savoir. Votre orthographe n'est pas beaucoup meilleure que la nôtre, et votre écriture ne vaut pas mieux que notre griffonage. Vous écrivez *boneure* pour *bonheur;* mais vous possédez la chose sans savoir comment son nom s'écrit; enfin, ce bonheur même qu'ils ne savent pas puiser dans leurs livres, du haut de votre ignorance vous le répandez sur eux. Les souris ne leur font donc pas un si grand tort.

Quant aux mules de Mademoiselle Luillier, pour peu qu'elle voulût aller moins lentement, les

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[1] L'Abbé Morellet.

souris ne lui mangeroient pas les pieds ; et il est étrange qu'on nous condamne à la mort parceque votre femme-de-chambre n'a guères plus de mouvement qu'un limaçon.

Ces raisons si fortes ne sont pas encore les seules qui peuvent nous excuser envers vous des dégâts que les souris font dans votre maison.

Ah ! très-illustre Dame, en quelle conscience peut-on se plaindre de ce que nous ne prenons pas vos souris, lorsque vous avez sans cesse auprès de vous deux monstres altérés de notre sang, qui ne nous permettent pas d'approcher de votre chère personne, comme la reconnoissance et le devoir nous y porteroient ? deux chiens, c'est tout dire ; animaux nourris dans la haine des chats, dont les aboiemens continuels nous remplissent de terreur. Comment ose-t-on nous reprocher de nous tenir éloignés des lieux où règnent ces animaux féroces, en qui la nature a mis l'aversion pour notre race et la force pour la détruire ? Encore, si nous n'avions affaire qu'à des chiens François ; leur haine ne seroit pas si active, leur ferocité seroit moindre ; mais vous êtes toujours accompagnée d'un *bull-dog* que vous avez fait venir d'Angleterre, (au mépris des sages dispositions de M. le Contrôleur-Général) et qui nous hait doublement, comme *chats François*. Nous voyons, sous nos yeux, tous les jours, les cruels effets de sa rage, dans la queue dépouillée de notre frère *Le Noir*. Notre zèle pour votre service, et même le goût que nous avons

pour les souris nous conduiroit à la chasse dans vos appartemens, si nous n'en étions pas bannis par ces ennemis redoutables que vous en avez rendus les maîtres. Qu'on cesse donc de nous reprocher les désordres que causent chez vous les souris, puisqu'on nous met dans l'impossibilité de les réprimer.

Hélas! ils ne sont plus ces tems heureux, où l'illustre chat *Pompon* régnoit dans ces mêmes lieux, dormoit sur vos genoux, et reposoit sur votre couche; où cette *Zémire*,[1] aujourd'hui si ardente à nous chasser de chez vous, et qui entre en fureur au seul mot de chat, faisoit humblement sa cour au favori dont elle occupe aujourd'hui la place. Alors nous marchions la queue levée dans toute la maison. Feu *M. Pompon* daignoit quelquefois partager avec le dernier d'entre nous les lapins que Sa Majesté lui envoyoit de sa chasse, et à l'ombre du crédit de cet illustre favori nous jouissions de quelque paix et de quelque bonheur. Cet heureux tems n'est plus! Nous vivons sous un règne de *chien*, et nous regrettons sans cesse le *chat*, sous l'empire duquel nous avons coulé de si beaux jours! Aussi allons-nous toutes les nuits arroser de nos pleurs le pied du cyprès que couvre sa tombe.

Ah! très-illustre Dame, que le souvenir du chat que vous avez tant aimé, vous touche au moins de

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[1] Petite chienne.

quelque pitié pour nous. Nous ne sommes pas à la vérité de sa race, puisqu'il fut voué dès sa jeunesse à la *chasteté;* mais nous sommes de son espèce. Ses mânes, errans encore dans ces lieux, vous demandent la révocation de l'ordre sanguinaire qui menace nos jours: nous employerons tous ceux que vous conserverez à vous miauler notre vive reconnoissance, et nous la transmettrons aux cœurs de nos enfans et des enfans de nos enfans.

[*Translation.*]

AN HUMBLE PETITION,

PRESENTED TO MADAME HELVETIUS, BY HER CATS.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND EXCELLENT LADY,

A TERRIBLE piece of news has just reached us to interrupt the happiness we enjoyed in your poultry-yard and wood-yard. We learn, that in consequence of certain calumnious representations on the part of our enemies your Abbés,[1] a sentence of proscription has been issued against us, and that by means of a diabolical invention, we are all to be seized, put into a cask, rolled down to the river, and abandoned to the mercy of the waters. At the moment in which we are drawing up this our humble request, we hear the strokes of the hammer and hatchet from the hands of your coachman, who is employed to frame the instrument of our destruction.

But, most illustrious lady, shall we be condemned without being heard? and shall we be the only creatures among so

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[1] The Abbés Morellet and La Roche.

many fed and nourished by you, who do not find your bosom alive to justice and compassion?—We see your beneficent hand every day feeding two or three hundred chickens, as many canary-birds, pigeons without number, all the sparrows of the neighborhood, all the blackbirds of the Wood of Boulogne—nay, even the very dogs of your domain; and shall we alone not only cease to experience the effects of your beneficence, but, what is more terrible to think of, become the objects of a cruelty wholly foreign to your nature, and never exercised but towards us. No, the natural goodness of your heart will recal in you sentiments more worthy of your *catology*.

Alas! what are the crimes that we have committed! We are accused—to what lengths will not calumny transport the heart!—we are accused of eating your chickens while they are still young, of making depredations from time to time upon your pigeons, of watching your canary-birds incessantly, and seizing any that come near enough to the lattice of your aviary, and of suffering the mice to infest your house unmolested.

But are imputed crimes sufficient to render any one guilty? These horrible accusations we can easily repel. In the first place, it must be observed, that they do not rest upon any proofs. Granted that the feet of some pigeons, or the feathers of some chickens may be produced; can these be admitted as evidence before any tribunal upon earth? Great crimes are, besides, the consequences of great misery and want, and we receive every day from you, to the number of eighteen cats of which our troop consists, abundant means of subsistence; nothing is wanting to us. And can we be supposed to scratch the hand by which we are nourished? Have you not, more than once, with your own eyes seen your chickens come and eat off the same dish with us, without the least hostile movement on our part? And if you are told, that we never eat the chickens when conscious that we are observed, that it is by night our murders are committed,—we answer, that it is our calumniators who hide themselves under the veil of darkness to frame their cruel

plots against us. This we may the rather say, since they are reduced to impute to us nocturnal crimes, which are contradicted by our conduct throughout the day.

But, say our enemies, the poultry-yard of our most illustrious lady is maintained at an expense of twenty-five louis annually, while of two or three hundred chickens reared there, she never eats more than fifty; so that, from her great economy, they cost her only twelve livres each: what then becomes of the rest?

We will ask, in the first place, were the chickens numbered and consigned to our care, and are we answerable for them? Surrounded by so many destructive beings, by mankind in particular, who are firmly persuaded that chickens were only created to be eaten by them, is it on us that the first suspicion can with justice fall? Every Sunday at the gate of the Wood of Boulogne, and in the public-houses of Auteuil, a hundred fricassees are served up; is it not probable that some of your chickens may have glided gently in among them? and certainly it is not by us that they are remitted to the innkeepers. After all, madam, without wishing to become the apologists of chicken-stealers, let us be permitted to observe, that whatever may be the causes which occasion the diminution complained of in your stock of poultry, they are in the order of nature, and produce a salutary effect to yourself, since they restrain within due bounds the multiplication of this species, which, if suffered to go on unrestrained, would soon convert your whole house into a receptacle for chickens, and reduce you to going without a shift, that no limits may be placed to the number of your fowls.

As to the pigeons, it must be allowed that several of the children of *Coco*[1] have disappeared; but you must not permit your tenderness for him, which goes so far as to suffer him to break your china, provided he will condescend to eat out of your

[1] A favorite tame pigeon of Madame Helvetius, to which she had given that name.

hand, to render you unjust towards us. Where is the proof that we have ever eaten any of his children? or do we and his species ever approach each other? Always keeping upon the roofs of the houses at a distance from us, do they not manifest a distrust of us at which we have just reason to be offended? Let the whole wood-yard be examined next spring, and if any traces of murder be discovered, we will be among the most forward in endeavoring to detect the malefactors, and give them up to justice. But the pigeons are not like us poor humble cats, confined to the soil where we were born; they can fly in the air to another country: those whom you miss, jealous no doubt of the preference shown by you to some over the rest, have taken their flight in search of equality to some *republican dove-cote*, rather than drag on a painful existence under the insolent tyranny of your favorite *Coco*.

The accusation brought against us with regard to the canary-birds, you must see yourself is wholly absurd, and a gross imposture. The intervals in the lattice of your aviary are so narrow, that when sometimes we have in sport endeavored to thrust a paw through them, it was not without the utmost difficulty that we could withdraw it again. It is true, that we sometimes amuse ourselves with watching the little innocent sports of these pretty creatures, but we cannot reproach ourselves with having ever shed a drop of their blood.

We shall not endeavor to defend ourselves equally from devouring as many sparrows, blackbirds, and thrushes, as we can possibly catch. But here we have to plead in extenuation, that our most cruel enemies, your Abbés themselves, are incessantly complaining of the ravages made by these birds among the cherries and other fruit. The Sieur Abbé Morellet, in particular, is always thundering the most violent anathemas against the blackbirds and thrushes, for plundering your vines, which they do with as little mercy as he himself. To us, however, most illustrious lady, it appears, that the grapes may just as well be eaten by *blackbirds* as by *Abbés*, and that our warfare against the

winged plunderers will be fruitless, if you encourage other biped and featherless pilferers, who make ten times more havoc.

We know that we are also accused of eating nightingales, who never plunder, and sing, as they say, most enchantingly. It is indeed possible that we may now and then have gratified our palates with a delicious morsel in this way, but we can assure you that it was in utter ignorance of your affection for the species; and that, resembling sparrows in their plumage, we, who make no pretensions to being connoisseurs in music, could not distinguish the song of the one from that of the other, and therefore supposed ourselves regaling only on sparrows. A cat belonging to M. Piccini[1] has assured us, that they who only know how to *mew*, cannot be any judges of the art of singing; and on this we rest for our justification. However, we will henceforward exert our utmost endeavors to distinguish the *Gluckists*,[2] who are, as we are informed, the sparrows, from the *Piccinists*, who are the nightingales. We only intreat of you to pardon the inadvertence into which we may possibly fall, if, in roving after nests, we may sometimes fall upon a brood of *Piccinists*, who, being then destitute of plumage, and not having leaint to sing, will have no mark by which to distinguish them.

The last imputation we are called upon to repel, most illustrious lady, is that of suffering your house to be infested with such a quantity of mice. They make terrible havoc, it is said, with your sugar and sweetmeats; they gnaw the books of your *savans*, and even nibble the slippers of Mademoiselle Luillier,[3] as she is walking. It is urged, that cats being created by Providence, (who watches with equal goodness over all his creatures) for no other purpose but to eat mice, deserve nothing

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[1] An Italian composer.

[2] The admirers of *Gluck*, a German composer.

[3] An old waiting-maid of Madame Helvetius.

better, when they fail in the object of their vocation, but to be drowned.

Certainly, most illustrious lady, it is easy to discover in this language, the influence of personal interest in the mouths of our accusers. The Sieur Cabanis,[1] who makes an enormous consumption of sweetmeats in your house, and who is always ready to steal a lump of sugar when he thinks he can do it unobserved, has certainly very good reasons for making you consider the *gourmandise* of a few mice, who nibble a loaf of sugar, or begin eating a pot of jelly before him, as a capital crime; but he shows a mind still more atrocious than interested, when he would condemn us as meriting death because we do not prevent the little animals availing themselves, to the best of their power, of a system of spoliation which he himself, great as he is, practises every day without discretion and without remorse. Could he carry his barbarity towards us further, if we were, like the mice and himself, *sugarivorous* and *sweetmeativorous* animals? Is it not manifest, that *gourmandise* alone inspires him with sentiments so cruel, and can you give them admission into your bosom?

With regard to the books of the Abbé de la Roche, and that other *savant*,[2] whose speech at the Academy we just now read as it wrapped up a calf's lights which you had the goodness to give us; with regard to their books, we ask, where is the great harm if they are sometimes gnawed a little by the mice? Of what use to them is all their reading? Since they have lived with you, must they not be fully convinced of the inutility of all knowledge? They see you good without the assistance of *Treatises upon Morals*; charming in your manners without having read our historiographer Moncrief's *Art of Pleasing*; and happy without being acquainted with the *Treatise on Hap-*

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[1] A friend of Madame Helvetius, who lived in her house.

[2] The Abbé Morellet.

piness, by the unfortunate Maupertuis. While they are the daily witnesses of your profound ignorance, they, who know so many things, are wholly unacquainted with the art you know so well—of being able to dispense with knowing any thing. Your orthography is not much better than ours, and your writing is very like the scratching of a cat's paw. You totally mistake the way to spell *happiness*, but you enjoy the thing without knowing how it should be written; that happiness, in short, which they cannot draw from their books, you shed around them from the eminence of your ignorance. The mice cannot, therefore, as we have proved, do them any great injury. As to the slippers of Mademoiselle Luillier, if she would only creep on at a somewhat less drawling pace, the mice would not be able to get at them; and it is strange that you would condemn us to death because your waiting-maid moves only a snail's pace.

But these reasons, strong as they are, are not the only ones which may excuse us towards you for the spoliations committed in your house by the mice. Ah! most illustrious lady, with what conscience can we be reproached for not catching them, when you have constantly about you two large dogs thirsting for our blood, who will not permit us to approach your beloved person, as duty and gratitude would lead us to do? Two dogs! this is saying enough: they are animals brought up in the utmost hatred of our species; their barking always fills us with terror. How can any one be so unjust as to reproach us with keeping at a distance from places where animals thus ferocious, whom nature has inspired with such aversion to us, and such power to destroy us, reign uncontrolled? Nay, farther, if the question were only of French dogs, there might be hopes that their hatred would not be so active, that their ferocity would not be so alarming; but you must needs take into your service (in contempt of the wise decrees of the comptroller-general) a *bull-dog* which you have imported from England, who hates us doubly; in the first place, as *cats*, and still more ardently as

French cats. We see daily before our eyes, the cruel effects of his rage in the shortened tail of our brother *Le Noir.* Our zeal to serve you, united with the natural taste we have for mice, would lead us to form hunting-parties in your apartments, if we were not banished by these formidable enemies whom you have made masters of them. Let us no longer, therefore, be reproached with the disorders committed against you by the mice, since we are deprived of the possibility of repressing them.

Alas! those happy times are no more, when that illustrious cat *Pompon* reigned in these places, slept on your lap, and reposed upon your couch! when that *Zemira,*[1] who now so eagerly endeavors to procure our downfal, humbly paid his court to the favorite whose situation he now occupies. Then could we parade about the house with our tails in the air: the late *M. Pompon* would sometimes condescend to share with us the rabbits graciously sent him by his majesty from his shooting-parties; and under the protection of this illustrious favorite we enjoyed peace and happiness. Those happy times, we must repeat, are, alas! no more: we live under the reign of a DOG: sunk in deep and lasting regrets for the CAT, beneath whose empire such enjoyments were ours, while our only consolation is to go every night, and water with our tears the cypress which shadows his tomb!

Ah, most illustrious lady! let the memory of the cat you so much loved, inspire you at least with some compassion towards us. We are not indeed of his race, since he was devoted to *chastity* from his youth; but we are of his species. His manes, still wandering about this spot, call upon you to revoke the sanguinary order which menaces our days; and all those which you preserve to us shall be consecrated to mewing forth our lasting gratitude, while the beneficent act shall be handed down by us to our children, and to our children's children.

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[1] A little dog.

A Monsieur l'Abbe' de la Roche, à Auteuil.

J'ai parcouru, mon cher ami, le petit livre de poésies de M. Helvétius, dont vous m'avez fait cadeau. Le poëme sur *le Bonheur* m'a donné beaucoup de plaisir, et m'a faite ressouvenir d'une petite chanson à boire, que j'ai fait il y a quarante ans sur le même sujet, et qui avoit à-peu-près le même plan, et plusieurs des mêmes pensées, mais bien donsement exprimées. La voici.

Singer.

Fair Venus calls, her voice obey,
In beauty's arms spend night and day.
The joys of love, all joys excel,
And loving's certainly doing well.

Chorus.

Oh! no!
Not so!
For honest souls know,
Friends and a bottle still bear the bell.

Singer.

Then let us get money, like bees lay up honey:
We'll build us new hives, and store each cell.
The sight of our treasure shall yield us great pleasure;
We'll count it, and chink it, and jingle it well.

Chorus.

Oh! no!
Not so!
For honest souls know,
Friends and a bottle still bear the bell.

Singer.

If this does not fit ye, let's govern the city,
In power is pleasure no tongue can tell;
By crowds tho' you're teas'd, your pride shall be pleas'd,
And this can make Lucifer happy in hell!

Chorus.

Oh! no!
Not so!
For honest souls know,
Friends and a bottle still bear the bell.

Singer.

Then toss off your glasses, and scorn the dull asses,
Who, missing the kernel, still gnaw the shell;
What's love, rule, or riches? wise Solomon teaches,
They're vanity, vanity, vanity still.

Chorus.

That's true;
He knew;
He'd tried them all through;
Friends and a bottle still bore the bell.

C'est un chanteur, mon cher Abbé, qui exhorte ses compagnons de chercher *le bonheur* dans *l'amour*, dans les *richesses*, et dans *le pouvoir*. Ils répliquent, chantant ensemble, que *le bonheur* ne se trouve pas en aucunes de ces choses, et qu'on ne le trouve que dans *les amis* et *le vin*. A cette position, le chanteur enfin consent. La phrase "*bear the bell,*" signifie en François, *remporter le prix*.

J'ai souvent remarqué, en lisant les ouvrages de

M. Helvétius, que quoique nous étions nés élevés dans deux pays si éloignés l'un de l'autre; nous nous sommes rencontrés souvent dans les mêmes pensées; et c'est une réflexion bien flatteuse pour moi, que nous avons aimé les mêmes études, et autant que nous les avions connus, les mêmes amis,[1] *et la même femme.*[2]

Adieu! mon cher ami, &c. B. F.

[*Translation.*]

To the Abbe de La Roche, at Auteuil.

I have run over, my dear friend, the little book of poetry by M. Helvetius, with which you presented me. The poem on *Happiness* pleased me much, and brought to my recollection a little drinking song which I wrote forty ears ago upon the same subject, and which is nearly on the same plan, with many of the same thoughts, but very concisely expressed. It is as follows:—

Singer.

Fair Venus calls, &c.

'Tis a singer, my dear Abbé, who exhorts his companions to seek *happiness* in *love*, in *riches*, and in *power*. They reply, singing together, that happiness is not to be found in any of these things; that it is only to be found in *friends* and *wine*. To this proposition the singer at length assents. The phrase "*bear the bell*," answers to the French expression, "*obtain the prize*."

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[1] Mess. Voltaire, Hume, Turgot, Marmontel, d'Holbach, Le Roy, les Abbés Morellet et La Roche, &c. &c.

[2] Madame Helvétius.

I have often remarked, in reading the works of M. Helvetius, that although we were born and educated in two countries so remote from each other, we have often been inspired with the same thoughts; and it is a reflection very flattering to me, that we have not only loved the same studies, but, as far as we have mutually known them, the same friends,[1] and *the same woman.*[2]

Adieu! my dear friend, &c. B. F.

A Monsieur l'Abbé Morellet.

*Passy le *****.*

Vous m'avez souvent égayé, mon très-cher ami, par vos excellentes chansons à boire; en échange, je désire vous édifier par quelques réflexions chrétiennes, morales, et philosophiques, sur le même sujet.

In vino veritas, dit le sage. *La vérité est dans le vin.* Avant Noé donc, les hommes n'ayant que de l'eau à boire, ne pouvoient trouver la vérité. Ainsi ils s'égarèrent, ils devinrent abominablement méchants, et ils furent justement exterminés par *l'eau* qu'ils aimoient à boire.

Ce bon-homme Noé ayant vu que par cette mauvaise boisson tous ses contemporains avoient péri, le prit en aversion; et Dieu, pour le désaltérer, créa la vigne, et lui révéla l'art d'en faire du vin.

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[1] Messrs. Voltaire, Hume, Turgot, Marmontel, d'Holbach, Le Roy, the Abbés Morellet and La Roche, &c. &c.

[2] Madame Helvetius.

Par l'aide de cette liqueur il découvrit maintes et maintes vérités : et depuis son temps, le mot " de*vin*er" a été en usage ; signifiant originairement *découvrir par le moyen du* VIN. Ainsi le patriarche Joseph prétendoit de*vin*er au moyen d'une coupe, ou verre de VIN :[1] liqueur qui a reçu ce nom pour marquer qu'elle n'étoit pas une invention humaine, mais di*vin*e : (autre preuve de l'antiquité de la langue Françoise, contre M. Gibelin.)[2] Aussi depuis ce temps, toutes les choses excellentes, même les Déités, ont été appelées di*vin*es ou di*vin*ités.

On parle de la conversion de l'eau en vin, à la nôce de Cana, comme d'un miracle. Mais cette conversion est faite tous les jours par la bonté de Dieu, sous nos yeux. Voilà l'eau qui tombe des cieux sur nos vignobles, et alors elle entre dans les racines des vignes pour-être changée en vin. Preuve constante que Dieu nous aime, et qu'il aime à nous voir heureux. Le miracle particulier a été fait seulement pour hâter l'opération dans une circonstance de besoin soudain, qui le demandoit.

Il est vrai que Dieu a aussi instruit les hommes à réduire le vin en eau. Mais quelle espèce d'eau ?

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[1] L'orateur Romain, qui est bien connu par ses mauvaises poësies, d'être *un buveur d'eau*, confesse franchement, dans son livre *De Di*VIN*atione*, qu'il ne savoit pas *deviner*.—*Quid futurum sit non di*VIN*o.*

[2] Author of " *Le Monde primitif comparé au Monde moderne.*"

C'est *l'eau*-de-vie. Et cela afin que par-là ils puissent, au besoin, faire le miracle de Cana, et convertir l'eau ordinaire en cette espèce excellente de vin, qu'on appelle *punch !*

Mon frère Chrétien, soyez bienveillant et bienfaisant comme lui, et ne gâtez pas son bon ouvrage. Il a fait le vin pour nous réjouir :—quand vous voyez votre voisin à table verser du vin dans son verre, ne vous hâtez pas à y verser de l'eau. Pourquoi voulez-vous noyer la *vérité?* Il est vraisemblable que votre voisin sait mieux que vous ce que lui convient. Peut-être il n'aime pas l'eau ; peut-être il ne veut mettre que quelques gouttes, par complaisance pour la mode ; peut-être il ne veut pas qu'un autre observe combien peu il en met dans son verre. Donc, n'offrez l'eau qu'aux enfans ; c'est une fausse politesse, et bien incommode. Je vous dis ceci comme homme du monde ; et je finirai, comme j'ai commencé, en bon Chrétien, en vous faisant une observation religieuse bien importante, et tirée de l'Ecritnre Sainte ; savoir que l'apôtre Paul conseilloit bien sérieusement à Timothée, de mettre du vin dans son eau pour la santé ; mais que pas un des apôtres, ni aucuns des saints pères, n'ont jamais conseillé de mettre *de l'eau dans le vin !*

B. F.

P.S.—Pour vous confirmer encore plus dans votre piété et reconnoissance à la Providence Divine, réfléchissez sur la situation qu'elle a donnée

au *coude.* Vous voyez aussi que les animaux qui doivent boire l'eau qui coule sur la terre, s'ils ont des jambes longues, ont aussi un cou long, afin qu'ils puissent atteindre leur boisson sans la peine de se mettre à genoux. Mais l'homme, qui étoit destiné à boire du vin, doit être en état de porter le verre à sa bouche. Si le coude avoit été placé plus près de la main, la partie d'avant auroit été trop courte pour approcher le verre de la bouche; et s'il avoit été placé plus près l'épaule, la partie seroit si longue qu'il porteroit le verre au-delà de la tête. Ainsi nous aurions été *tantalisés.* Mais par la présente situation du coude nous sommes en état de boire à notre aise; le verre venant justement à la bouche.—Adorons donc, le verre à la main, cette sagesse bienveillante! Adorons, et buvons!

[*Translation.*]

TO THE ABBE MORELLET.

Passy, * * *

You have often enlivened me, my dear friend, by your excellent drinking songs: in return, I beg to edify you by some Christian, moral, and philosophical reflections upon the same subject.

In vino veritas, says the wise man,—*Truth is in wine.* Before the days of Noah, then, men having nothing but water to drink, could not discover the truth. Thus they went astray, became abominably wicked, and were justly exterminated by *water,* which they loved to drink.

The good man Noah, seeing that through this pernicious beverage all his cotemporaries had perished, took it in aversion; and to quench his thirst, God created the vine, and revealed to him the means of converting its fruit into wine. By means of this liquor he discovered numberless important truths; so that ever since his time the word *to divine* has been in common use, signifying originally *to discover by means of* WINE. Thus the patriarch Joseph took upon himself to *divine* by means of a cup or glass of WINE;[1] a liquor which obtained this name to show that it was not of human but *divine* invention (another proof of the *antiquity* of the French language, in opposition to M. Gebelin): nay, since that time, all things of peculiar excellence, even the deities themselves, have been called *Divine* or *Divinities*.

We hear of the conversion of water into wine at the marriage in Cana, as of a miracle. But this conversion is, through the goodness of God, made every day before our eyes. Behold the rain which descends from heaven upon our vineyards, and which incorporates itself with the grapes to be changed into wine; a constant proof that God loves us, and loves to see us happy! The miracle in question was only performed to hasten the operation under circumstances of present necessity, which required it.

It is true that God has also instructed man to reduce wine into water. But into what sort of water?—*Water of Life*.[2] And this, that man may be able upon occasion to perform the miracle of Cana, and convert common water into that excellent species of wine which we call *punch*.

My Christian brother, be kind and benevolent like God, and

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[1] The Roman orator, who is well known by his bad poetry to have been *a water drinker*, frankly acknowledges in his book *De Divinatione*, that he did not know how *to divine*. *Quid futurum sit non divino.*

[2] *Eau-de-vie*, that is, brandy.

do not spoil his good work. He made wine to gladden the heart of man;—do not, therefore, when at table you see your neighbor pour wine into his glass be eager to mingle water with it. Why would you drown *truth?* It is probable that your neighbor knows better than you can, what suits him. Perhaps he does not like water; perhaps he would only put in a few drops for fashion's sake; perhaps he does not wish any one to observe how much he puts in his glass. Do not then offer water except to children,—'tis a mistaken piece of politeness, and often very inconvenient. I give you this hint as a man of the world; and I will finish as I began, like a good Christian, in making a religious observation of high importance, taken from the Holy Scriptures; I mean, that the apostle Paul counselled Timothy very seriously to put wine into his water for the sake of his health; but that not one of the apostles or holy fathers ever recommended *putting water to wine.* B. F.

P. S. To confirm still more your piety and gratitude to Divine Providence, reflect upon the situation which it has given to the *elbow.* You see in animals who are intended to drink the waters that flow upon the earth, that if they have long legs, they have also a long neck, so that they can get at their drink without kneeling down. But man, who was destined to drink wine, is framed in a manner that he may raise the glass to his mouth. If the elbow had been placed nearer the hand, the part in advance would have been too short to bring the glass up to the mouth: and if it had been nearer the shoulder, that part would have been so long, that when it attempted to carry the wine to the mouth it would have overshot the mark, and gone beyond the head; thus, either way, we should have been in the case of Tantalus. But from the actual situation of the elbow we are enabled to drink at our ease, the glass going directly to the mouth. Let us, then, with glass in hand, adore this benevolent wisdom—let us adore and drink!

AN ECONOMICAL PROJECT.

TO THE AUTHORS OF THE JOURNAL OF PARIS.

Messieurs,

You often entertain us with accounts of new discoveries. Permit me to communicate to the public, through your paper, one that has lately been made by myself, and which I conceive may be of great utility.

I was the other evening in a grand company, where the new lamp of Messrs. Quinquet and Lange was introduced, and much admired for its splendor; but a general inquiry was made, whether the oil it consumed was not in proportion to the light it afforded, in which case there would be no saving in the use of it. No one present could satisfy us in that point, which all agreed ought to be known, it being a very desirable thing to lessen, if possible, the expense of lighting our apartments, when every other article of family expense was so much augmented.

I was pleased to see this general concern for economy, for I love economy exceedingly.

I went home, and to bed, three or four hours after midnight, with my head full of the subject. An accidental sudden noise waked me about six in the morning, when I was surprised to find my room filled with light; and I imagined at first, that a number of those lamps had been brought into it: but, rubbing my eyes, I perceived the light

came in at the windows. I got up and looked out to see what might be the occasion of it, when I saw the sun just rising above the horizon, from whence he poured his rays plentifully into my chamber, my domestic having negligently omitted, the preceding evening, to close the shutters.

I looked at my watch, which goes very well, and found that it was but six o'clock; and still thinking it something extraordinary that the sun should rise so early, I looked into the almanac, where I found it to be the hour given for his rising on that day. I looked forward, too, and found he was to rise still earlier every day till towards the end of June; and that at no time in the year he retarded his rising so long as till eight o'clock. Your readers, who with me have never seen any signs of sun-shine before noon, and seldom regard the astronomical part of the almanac, will be as much astonished as I was, when they hear of his rising so early; and especially when I assure them, *that he gives light as soon as he rises.* I am convinced of this. I am certain of my fact. One cannot be more certain of any fact. I saw it with my own eyes. And, having repeated this observation the three following mornings, I found always precisely the same result.

Yet so it happens, that when I speak of this discovery to others, I can easily perceive by their countenances, though they forbear expressing it in words, that they do not quite believe me. One,

indeed, who is a learned natural philosopher, has assured me that I must certainly be mistaken as to the circumstance of the light coming into my room; for it being well known, as he says, that there could be no light abroad at that hour, it follows that none could enter from without; and that of consequence, my windows being accidentally left open, instead of letting in the light, had only served to let out the darkness: and he used many ingenious arguments to show me how I might, by that means, have been deceived. I own that he puzzled me a little, but he did not satisfy me; and the subsequent observations I made, as above mentioned, confirmed me in my first opinion.

This event has given rise in my mind to several serious and important reflections. I considered that, if I had not been awakened so early in the morning, I should have slept six hours longer by the light of the sun, and in exchange have lived six hours the following night by candle-light; and the latter being a much more expensive light than the former, my love of economy induced me to muster up what little arithmetic I was master of, and to make some calculations, which I shall give you, after observing that utility is, in my opinion, the test of value in matters of invention, and that a discovery which can be applied to no use, or is not good for something, is good for nothing.

I took for the basis of my calculation the sup-

position that there are 100,000 families in Paris, and that these families consume in the night half a pound of bougies, or candles, per hour. [illegible] this is a moderate allowance, taking one family with another; for though I believe some consume less, I know that many consume a great deal more. Then estimating seven hours per day as the medium quantity between the time of the sun's rising and ours, he rising during the six following months from six to eight hours before noon, and there being seven hours of course per night in which we burn candles, the account will stand thus:—

In the six months between the 20th of March and the 20th of September, there are

Nights	183
Hours of each night in which we burn candles	7
Multiplication gives for the total number of hours	1,281
These 1,281 hours multiplied by 100,000, the number of inhabitants, give	128,100,000
One hundred twenty-eight millions and one hundred thousand hours, spent at Paris by candle-light, which, at half a pound of wax and tallow per hour, gives the weight of	64,050,000
Sixty four millions and fifty thousand of pounds, which, estimating the whole at the medium price of thirty	

sols the pound, makes the sum of ninety-six millions and seventy-five thousand livres tournois . 96,075,000

An immense sum! that the city of Paris might save every year, by the economy of using sun-shine instead of candles.

If it should be said, that people are apt to be obstinately attached to old customs, and that it will be difficult to induce them to rise before noon, consequently my discovery can be of little use: I answer, *Nil desperandum.* I believe all who have common sense, as soon as they have learnt from this paper that it is day-light when the sun rises, will contrive to rise with him; and, to compel the rest, I would propose the following regulations:

First. Let a tax be laid of a louis per window, on every window that is provided with shutters to keep out the light of the sun.

Second. Let the same salutary operation of police be made use of, to prevent our burning candles, that inclined us last winter to be more economical in burning wood; that is, let guards be placed in the shops of the wax and tallow chandlers, and no family be permitted to be supplied with more than one pound of candles per week.

Third. Let guards also be posted to stop all the coaches, &c. that would pass the streets after sun-set, except those of physicians, surgeons, and midwives.

Fourth. Every morning, as soon as the sun

rises, let all the bells in every church be set ringing; and if that is not sufficient, let cannon be fired in every street, to wake the sluggards effectually, and make them open their eyes to see their true interest.

All the difficulty will be in the first two or three days: after which the reformation will be as natural and easy as the present irregularity; for, *ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte.* Oblige a man to rise at four in the morning, and it is more than probable he will go willingly to bed at eight in the evening; and, having had eight hours sleep, he will rise more willingly at four in the morning following. But this sum of ninety-six millions and seventy-five thousand livres, is not the whole of what may be saved by my economical project. You may observe, that I have calculated upon only one-half of the year, and much may be saved in the other, though the days are shorter. Besides, the immense stock of wax and tallow left unconsumed during the summer, will probably make candles much cheaper for the ensuing winter, and continue them cheaper as long as the proposed reformation shall be supported.

For the great benefit of this discovery, thus freely communicated and bestowed by me on the public, I demand neither place, pension, exclusive privilege, nor any other reward whatever. I expect only to have the honor of it. And yet I know there are little envious minds who will, as

usual, deny me this, and say, that my invention was known to the ancients, and perhaps they may bring passages out of the old books in proof of it. I will not dispute with these people, that the ancients knew not the sun would rise at certain hours; they possibly had, as we have, almanacs that predicted it: but it does not follow thence, that they knew *he gave light as soon as he rose*. This is what I claim as my discovery. If the ancients knew it, it might have been long since forgotten, for it certainly was unknown to the moderns, at least to the Parisians, which to prove, I need use but one plain simple argument. They are as well instructed, judicious, and prudent a people as exist anywhere in the world, all professing, like myself, to be lovers of economy; and, from the many heavy taxes required from them by the necessities of the state, have surely an abundant reason to be economical. I say it is impossible that so sensible a people, under such circumstances, should have lived so long by the smoky, unwholesome, and enormously expensive light of candles, if they had really known, that they might have had as much pure light of the sun for nothing. I am, &c. A SUBSCRIBER.

END OF PART I.

PART II.

AMERICAN POLITICS.

SECTION I.

AMERICAN POLITICS PRIOR TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES.

ALBANY PAPERS.

[Referred to in *Memoirs of the Life*, Part II.]

Containing, I. *Reasons and Motives on which the* PLAN *of* UNION *for the* COLONIES *was formed;*—II. *Reasons against partial Unions;*—III. *And the Plan of Union drawn by Benjamin Franklin, and unanimously agreed to by the Commissioners from New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, met in Congress at Albany, in July* 1754, *to consider of the best Means of defending the King's Dominions in America, &c. a War being then apprehended; with the Reasons or Motives for each Article of the Plan.*

I. *Reasons and Motives on which the Plan of Union was formed.*

THE commissioners from a number of the northern colonies being met at Albany, and considering the difficulties that have always attended the most necessary general measures for the common de-

fence, or for the annoyance of the enemy, when they were to be carried through the several particular assemblies of all the colonies; some assemblies being before at variance with their governors or councils, and the several branches of the government not on terms of doing business with each other; others taking the opportunity, when their concurrence is wanted, to push for favorite laws, powers, or points, that they think could not at other times be obtained, and so creating disputes and quarrels; one assembly waiting to see what another will do, being afraid of doing more than its share, or desirous of doing less; or refusing to do any thing, because its country is not at present so much exposed as others, or because another will reap more immediate advantage; from one or other of which causes, the assemblies of six (out of seven) colonies applied to, had granted no assistance to Virginia, when lately invaded by the French, though purposely convened, and the importance of the occasion earnestly urged upon them; considering moreover, that one principal encouragement to the French, in invading and insulting the British American dominions, was their knowledge of our disunited state, and of our weakness arising from such want of union; and that from hence different colonies were, at different times, extremely harassed, and put to great expense both of blood and treasure, who would have remained in peace, if the enemy had had

cause to fear the drawing on themselves the resentment and power of the whole; the said commissioners, considering also the present incroachments of the French, and the mischievous consequences that may be expected from them, if not opposed with our force, came to an unanimous resolution,—*That an union of the colonies is absolutely necessary for their preservation.*

The manner of forming and establishing this union was the next point. When it was considered, that the colonies were seldom all in equal danger at the same time, or equally near the danger, or equally sensible of it; that some of them had particular interests to manage, with which an union might interfere: and that they were extremely jealous of each other: it was thought impracticable to obtain a joint agreement of all the colonies to an union, in which the expense and burthen of defending any of them should be divided among them all: and if ever acts of assembly in all the colonies could be obtained for that purpose, yet as any colony, on the least dissatisfaction, might repeal its own act, and thereby withdraw itself from the union, it would not be a stable one, or such as could be depended on: for if only one colony should, on any disgust, withdraw itself, others might think it unjust and unequal that they, by continuing in the union, should be at the expense of defending a colony, which refused to bear its proportionable part, and would therefore, one after

another, withdraw, till the whole crumbled into its original parts. Therefore the commissioners came to another previous resolution, viz. *That it was necessary the union should be established by act of parliament.*

They then proceeded to sketch out a *plan of union,* which they did in a plain and concise manner, just sufficient to show their sentiments of the kind of union that would best suit the circumstances of the colonies, be most agreeable to the people, and most effectually promote his majesty's service and the general interest of the British empire. This was respectfully sent to the assemblies of the several colonies for their consideration, and to receive such alterations and improvements as they should think fit and necessary; after which it was proposed to be transmitted to England to be perfected, and the establishment of it there humbly solicited.

This was as much as the commissioners could do.[1]

II. *Reasons against partial Unions.*

It was proposed by some of the commissioners,

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[1] Dr. Davenant was so well convinced of the expediency of an union of the colonies, that he recites, at full length, a plan contrived, as he says, with good judgment, for the purpose. Davenant, Vol. I. p. 40, 41, of Sir C. Whitworth's edition. B. V. —*This, and other notes with similar initials, are those of Mr. Benjamin Vaughan.*

to form the colonies into two or three distinct unions; but for these reasons that proposal was dropped even by those that made it: viz.

1. In all cases where the strength of the whole was necessary to be used against the enemy, there would be the same difficulty in degree, to bring the several unions to unite together, as now the several colonies; and consequently the same delays on our part, and advantage to the enemy.

2. Each union would separately be weaker than when joined by the whole, obliged to exert more force, be oppressed by the expense, and the enemy less deterred from attacking it.

3. Where particular colonies have *selfish views*, as New York with regard to Indian trade and lands; or are less exposed, being covered by others, as New Jersey, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Maryland; or have particular whims and prejudices against warlike measures in general, as Pennsylvania, where the Quakers predominate; such colonies would have more weight in a partial union, and be better able to oppose and obstruct the measures necessary for the general good, than where they are swallowed up in the general union.

4. The Indian trade would be better regulated by the union of the whole than by partial unions. And as Canada is chiefly supported by that trade, if it could be drawn into the hands of the English (as it might be if the Indians were supplied on moderate terms, and by honest traders appointed by

and acting for the public) that alone would contribute greatly to the weakening of our enemies.

5. The establishing of new colonies westward on the Ohio and the lakes (a matter of considerable importance to the increase of British trade and power, to the breaking that of the French, and to the protection and security of our present colonies), would best be carried on by a joint union.

6. It was also thought, that by the frequent meeting together of commissioners or representatives from all the colonies, the circumstances of the whole would be better known, and the good of the whole better provided for; and that the colonies would by this connection learn to consider themselves, not as so many independent states, but as members of the same body; and thence be more ready to afford assistance and support to each other, and to make diversions in favor even of the most distant, and to join cordially in any expedition for the benefit of all against the common enemy.

These were the principal reasons and motives for forming the plan of union as it stands. To which may be added this, that as the union of the * * * *

[The remainder of this article is missing.]

III. *Plan of a proposed Union of the several Colonies of Massachusett's Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, for their mutual Defence and Security, and for extending the British Settlements in North America, with the Reasons and Motives for each Article of the Plan [as far as could be remembered]*

It is proposed—That humble application be made for an act of parliament of Great Britain, by virtue of which one general government may be formed in America, including all the said colonies, within and under which government each colony may retain its present constitution, except in the particulars wherein a change may be directed by the said act, as hereafter follows.[1]

PRESIDENT GENERAL, AND GRAND COUNCIL.

That the said general government be administered by a president general, to be appointed and supported by the crown; and a grand council to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies met in their respective assemblies.

It was thought that it would be best the president general should be supported as well as ap-

[1] The reader may perceive, by the difference of the Italic and Roman type, which is the *text* of the plan, and which the

pointed by the crown; that so all disputes between him and the grand council concerning his salary might be prevented; as such disputes have been frequently of mischievous consequence in particular colonies, especially in time of public danger. The quit-rents of crown-lands in America might in a short time be sufficient for this purpose. The choice of members for the grand council is placed in the house of representatives of each government, in order to give the people a share in this new general government, as the crown has its share by the appointment of the president general.

But it being proposed by the gentlemen of the council of New York, and some other counsellors among the commissioners, to alter the plan in this particular, and to give the governors and council of the several provinces a share in the choice of the grand council, or at least a power of approving and confirming or of disallowing the choice made by the house of representatives, it was said:

"That the government or constitution proposed to be formed by the plan, consists of two branches; a president general appointed by the crown, and a council chosen by the people, or by the people's representatives, which is the same thing.

"That by a subsequent article, the council chosen by the people can effect nothing without the consent of the president general appointed by the

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reasons and motives mentioned in the title. They are thus printed for perspicuity and for convenience.

crown; the crown possesses therefore full one half of the power of this constitution.

"That in the British constitution, the crown is supposed to possess but one third, the lords having their share.

"That this constitution seemed rather more favorable for the crown.

"That this is essential to English liberty, [that] the subject should not be taxed but by his own consent, or the consent of his elected representatives.

"That taxes to be laid and levied by this proposed constitution will be proposed and agreed to by the representatives of the people, if the plan in this particular be preserved:

"But if the proposed alteration should take place, it seemed as if matters may be so managed, as that the crown shall finally have the appointment not only of the president general, but of a majority of the grand council; for seven out of eleven governors and councils are appointed by the crown:

"And so the people in all the colonies would in effect be taxed by their governors.

"It was therefore apprehended, that such alterations of the plan would give great dissatisfaction, and that the colonies could not be easy under such a power in governors, and such an infringement of what they take to be English liberty.

"Besides, the giving a share in the choice of the grand council would not be equal with respect to all the colonies, as their constitutions differ. In some, both governor and council are appointed by the crown. In others, they are both appointed by the proprietors. In some, the people have a share in the choice of the council; in others, both government and council are wholly chosen by the people. But the house of representatives is every where chosen by the people; and therefore, placing the right of choosing the grand council in the representatives is equal with respect to all.

"That the grand council is intended to represent all the several houses of representatives of the colonies, as a house of representatives doth the several towns or counties of a colony. Could all the people of a colony be consulted and unite in public measures, a house of representatives would be needless: and could all the assemblies conveniently consult and unite in general measures, the grand council would be unnecessary.

"That a house of commons or the house of representatives, and the grand council, are thus alike in their nature and intention. And as it would seem improper that the king or house of lords should have a power of disallowing or appointing members of the house of commons;—so likewise, that a governor and council appointed by the crown should have a power of disallowing or ap-

pointing members of the grand council, (who, in this constitution, are to be the representatives of the people.)

"If the governors and councils therefore were to have a share in the choice of any that are to conduct this general government, it should seem more proper that they chose the president general. But this being an office of great trust and importance to the nation, it was thought better to be filled by the immediate appointment of the crown.

"The power proposed to be given by the plan to the grand council is only a concentration of the powers of the several assemblies in certain points for the general welfare; as the power of the president general is of the powers of the several governors in the same points.

"And as the choice therefore of the grand council by the representatives of the people, neither gives the people any new powers, nor diminishes the power of the crown, it was thought and hoped the crown would not disapprove of it."

Upon the whole, the commissioners were of opinion, that the choice was most properly placed in the representatives of the people.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS.

That within months after the passing such act, the house of representatives, that happen to be sitting within that time, or that shall be especially for

that purpose convened, may and shall choose members for the grand council, in the following proportion, that is to say,

Massachusetts Bay - - - -	7
New Hampshire - - -	2
Connecticut - - - -	5
Rhode Island - - - -	2
New York - - - -	4
New Jersey - - - -	3
Pennsylvania - - - -	6
Maryland - - - -	4
Virginia - - - - -	7
North Carolina - - -	4
South Carolina - - -	4
	48

It was thought, that if the least colony was allowed two, and the others in proportion, the number would be very great and the expense heavy; and that less than two would not be convenient, as a single person, being by any accident prevented from appearing at the meeting, the colony he ought to appear for would not be represented. That as the choice was not immediately popular, they would be generally men of good abilities for business, and men of reputation for integrity; and that forty-eight such men might be a number sufficient. But though it was thought reasonable, that each colony should have a share in the representative body in

some degree, according to the proportion it contributed to the general treasury: yet the proportion of wealth or power of the colonies is not to be judged by the proportion here fixed; because it was at first agreed, that the greatest colony should not have more than seven members, nor the least less than two: and the settling these proportions between these two extremes was not nicely attended to, as it would find itself, after the first election from the sums brought into the treasury, as by a subsequent article.

PLACE OF FIRST MEETING.

—who shall meet for the first time at the city of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, being called by the president general as soon as conveniently may be after his appointment.

Philadelphia was named as being the nearer the centre of the colonies, where the commissioners would be well and cheaply accommodated. The high-roads, through the whole extent, are for the most part very good, in which forty or fifty miles a day may very well be and frequently are travelled. Great part of the way may likewise be gone by water. In summer time, the passages are frequently performed in a week from Charles Town to Philadelphia and New York; and from Rhode Island to New York through the sound, in two or three days; and from New York to Philadelphia, by

water and land, in two days, by stage boats and wheel-carriages that set out every other day. The journey from Charles Town to Philadelphia may likewise be facilitated by boats running up Chesapeak Bay three hundred miles. But if the whole journey be performed on horseback, the most distant members (viz. the two from New Hampshire and from South Carolina) may probably render themselves at Philadelphia in fifteen or twenty days; the majority may be there in much less time.

NEW ELECTION.

That there shall be a new election of the members of the grand council every three years; and on the death or resignation of any member, his place shall be supplied by a new choice at the next sitting of the assembly of the colony he represented.

Some colonies have annual assemblies, some continue during a governor's pleasure: three years was thought a reasonable medium, as affording a new member time to improve himself in the business, and to act after such improvement; and yet giving opportunities, frequent enough, to change him, if he has misbehaved.

PROPORTION OF MEMBERS AFTER THE FIRST THREE YEARS.

That after the first three years, when the proportion of money arising out of each colony to the general

treasury can be known, the number of members to be chosen for each colony shall, from time to time, in all ensuing elections, be regulated by that proportion (yet so as that the number to be chosen by any one province be not more than seven, nor less than two.)

By a subsequent article it is proposed, that the general council shall lay and levy such general duties, as to them may appear most equal and least burthensome, &c. Suppose, for instance, they lay a small duty or excise on some commodity imported into or made in the colonies, and pretty generally and equally used in all of them; as rum perhaps or wine: the yearly produce of this duty or excise, if fairly collected, would be in some colonies greater, in others less, as the colonies are greater or smaller. When the collector's accounts are brought in, the proportions will appear; and from them it is proposed to regulate the proportion of representatives to be chosen at the next general election, within the limits however of seven and two. These numbers may therefore vary in course of years, as the colonies may in the growth and increase of people. And thus the quota of tax from each colony would naturally vary with its circumstances; thereby preventing all disputes and dissatisfactions, about the just proportions due from each; which might otherwise produce pernicious consequences, and destroy the harmony and good agreement that ought to subsist between the several parts of the union.

MEETINGS OF THE GRAND COUNCIL, AND CALL.

That the grand council shall meet once in every year, and oftener if occasion require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to at the last preceding meeting, or as they shall be called to meet at by the president general on any emergency; he having first obtained in writing the consent of seven of the members to such call, and sent due and timely notice to the whole.

It was thought, in establishing and governing new colonies or settlements, regulating Indian trade, Indian treaties, &c. there would be every year sufficient business arise to require at least one meeting, and at such meeting many things might be suggested for the benefit of all the colonies. This annual meeting may either be at a time or place certain, to be fixed by the president general and grand council at their first meeting; or left at liberty, to be at such time and place as they shall adjourn to, or be called to meet at by the president general.

In time of war it seems convenient, that the meeting should be in that colony, which is nearest the seat of action.

The power of calling them on any emergency seemed necessary to be vested in the president general; but that such power might not be wantonly used to harass the members, and oblige them to make frequent long journies to little purpose,

the consent of seven at least to such call was supposed a convenient guard.

That the grand council have power to choose their speaker; and shall neither be dissolved, prorogued, nor continued sitting longer than six weeks at one time, without their own consent or the special command of the crown.

The speaker should be presented for approbation; it being convenient, to prevent misunderstandings and disgusts, that the mouth of the council should be a person agreeable, if possible, both to the council and president general.

Governors have sometimes wantonly exercised the power of proroguing or continuing the sessions of assemblies, merely to harass the members and compel a compliance; and sometimes dissolve them on slight disgusts. This it was feared might be done by the president general, if not provided against: and the inconvenience and hardship would be greater in the general government than in particular colonies, in proportion to the distance the members must be from home, during sittings, and the long journies some of them must necessarily take.

MEMBERS' ALLOWANCE.

That the members of the grand council shall be allowed for their service ten shillings sterling per diem, during their session and journey to and from the place of meeting; twenty miles to be reckoned a day's journey.

It was thought proper to allow *some* wages, lest the expense might deter some suitable persons from the service;—and not to allow *too great* wages, lest unsuitable persons should be tempted to cabal for the employment, for the sake of gain Twenty miles was set down as a day's journey, to allow for accidental hindrances on the road, and the greater expenses of travelling than residing at the place of meeting.

ASSENT OF PRESIDENT GENERAL, AND HIS DUTY.

That the assent of the president general be requisite to all acts of the grand council; and that it be his office and duty to cause them to be carried into execution.

The assent of the president general to all acts of the grand council was made necessary, in order to give the crown its due share of influence in this government, and connect it with that of Great Britain. The president general, besides one half of the legislative power, hath in his hands the whole executive power.

POWER OF PRESIDENT GENERAL, AND GRAND COUNCIL. TREATIES OF PEACE AND WAR.

That the president general, with the advice of the grand council, hold or direct all Indian treaties in which the general interest of the colonies may be concerned; and make peace or declare war with Indian nations.

The power of making peace or war with Indian nations is at present supposed to be in every colony, and is expressly granted to some by charter, so that no new power is hereby intended to be granted to the colonies. But as, in consequence of this power, one colony might make peace with a nation that another was justly engaged in war with; or make war on slight occasions without the concurrence or approbation of neighboring colonies, greatly endangered by it; or make particular treaties of neutrality in case of a general war, to their own private advantage in trade, by supplying the common enemy; of all which there have been instances—it was thought better, to have all treaties of a general nature under a general direction: that so the good of the whole may be consulted and provided for.

INDIAN TRADE.

That they make such laws as they judge necessary for regulating all Indian trade.

Many quarrels and wars have arisen between

the colonies and Indian nations, through the bad conduct of traders, who cheat the Indians after making them drunk, &c. to the great expense of the colonies both in blood and treasure: Particular colonies are so interested in the trade as not to be willing to admit such a regulation as might be best for the whole; and therefore it was thought best under a general direction.

INDIAN PURCHASES.

That they make all purchases from Indians for the crown, of lands not now within the bounds of particular colonies, or that shall not be within their bounds when some of them are reduced to more convenient dimensions.

Purchases from the Indians, made by private persons, have been attended with many inconveniencies. They have frequently interfered, and occasioned uncertainty of titles, many disputes, and expensive law-suits, and hindered the settlement of the land so disputed. Then the Indians have been cheated by such private purchases, and discontent and wars have been the consequence. These would be prevented by public fair purchases.

Several of the colony charters in America extend their bounds to the South Sea, which may be perhaps three or four thousand miles in length to one or two hundred miles in breadth. It is supposed they must in time be reduced to dimensions

more convenient for the common purposes of government.[1]

Very little of the land in those grants is yet purchased of the Indians.

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[1] Mr. Baron Maseres, in page 200 of his Account of the Proceedings at Quebec, for obtaining an Assembly, has the following hint: "The vast enlargement of the province of Quebec, by adding to it a new territory that contains, according to Lord Hillsborough's estimation of it, five hundred and eleven millions of acres (that is, more land than Spain, Italy, France, and Germany put together, and most of it good land), is a measure that would require an ample discussion."—That the reader may not suspect that these dimensions were convenient for uncommon purposes of government, I shall quote the motives assigned upon this occasion by the act regulating the government of Quebec. "By the arrangements made by the royal proclamation, a very large extent of country, within which there were several colonies and settlements of the subjects of France, who claimed to remain therein under the faith of the said treaty, was left without any provision being made for the administration of civil government therein: *i. e.* a few Indian traders were a pretext for this appropriation of a tract of country, which, according to the minister's estimate, was more than thirteen times larger than England and Wales united, nearly one hundred and twenty-eight times larger than Jamaica, almost one-eighth part of Europe, and considerably more than one thirty-eighth part of the whole habitable earth (comparing it with the several calculations in The Political Survey of Great Britain, by Dr. Campbell, and in that of Jamaica, by Mr. Long). "Now *all* the inhabitants of the province of Quebec," says this very act, "amounted at the conquest to above sixty-five thousand only, professing the religion of the church of Rome, and enjoying an established form of constitution and system of laws." B. V.

It is much cheaper to purchase of them, than to take and maintain the possession by force: for they are generally very reasonable in their demands for land;[1] and the expense of guarding a large frontier against their incursions is vastly great: because all must be guarded, as we know not where or when *to expect them.*[2]

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[1] "Dr. Franklin (says Mr. Kalm the Swede) and several other gentlemen, frequently told me, that a powerful Indian, who possessed Rhode Island, had sold it to the English for a pair of spectacles: it is large enough for a prince's domain, and makes a peculiar government at present. This Indian knew how to set a true value upon a pair of spectacles: for undoubtedly if those glasses were not so plentiful, and only a few of them could be found, they would, on account of their great use, bear the same price with diamonds." See Kalm's Travels into North America, Vol. I. p. 386, 387. "At the time when the Swedes first arrived, they bought land at a very inconsiderable price. For a piece of baize, or a pot full of brandy, or the like, they could get a piece of ground, which at present would be worth more than 290*l.* sterling." Ib. Vol. II. p. 118. —The truth is, that the Indians considered their lands as mere *hunting-manors*, and not as farms. B. V.

[2] To guard against the incursions of the Indians, a plan was sent over to America (and, as I think, by authority) suggesting the expediency of clearing away the woods and bushes from a tract of land, a mile in breadth, and extending along the back of the colonies. Unfortunately, besides the large expenses of this undertaking, (which, if one acre cost 2*l.* sterling, and six hundred and forty acres make a square mile, is 128,000*l.* *first cost* for every 100 miles,) it was forgotten, that the Indians, like other people, know the difference between day and night, and that a mile of advance and another of retreat were nothing to

NEW SETTLEMENTS.

That they make new settlements on such purchases, by granting lands in the king's name, reserving a quit-rent to the crown for the use of the general treasury.

It is supposed better that there should be one purchaser than many: and that the crown should be that purchaser, or the union in the name of the crown. By this means the bargains may be more easily made, the price not enhanced by numerous bidders, future disputes about private Indian purchases, and monopolies of vast tracts to particular persons (which are prejudicial to the settlement and peopling of the country) prevented: and the land being again granted in small tracts to the settlers, the quit-rents reserved may in time become a fund for support of government, for defence of the country, ease of taxes, &c.

Strong forts on the lakes, the Ohio, &c. may, at the same time they secure our present frontiers, serve to defend new colonies settled under their protection; and such colonies would also mutually defend and support such forts, and better secure the friendship of the far Indians.

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the celerity of such an enemy.—This plan, it is said, was the work of Dean Tucker; and possibly might contain many other particulars. The plans of Dr. Franklin and Governor Pownall appear much more feasible. B. V.

A particular colony has scarce strength enough to extend itself by new settlements, at so great a distance from the old; but the joint force of the union might suddenly establish a new colony or two in those parts, or extend an old colony to particular passes, greatly to the security of our present frontiers, increase of trade and people, breaking off the French communication between Canada and Louisiana, and speedy settlement of the intermediate lands.

The power of settling new colonies is therefore thought a valuable part of the plan, and what cannot so well be executed by two unions as by one.

LAWS TO GOVERN THEM.

That they make laws for regulating and governing such new settlements, till the crown shall think fit to form them into particular governments.

The making of laws suitable for the new colonies, it was thought, would be properly vested in the president and grand council; under whose protection they will at first necessarily be, and who would be well acquainted with their circumstances, as having settled them. When they are become sufficiently populous, they may by the crown be formed into complete and distinct governments.

The appointment of a sub-president by the crown, to take place in case of the death or absence of the

president general, would perhaps be an improvement of the plan; and if all the governors of particular provinces were to be formed into a standing council of state, for the advice and assistance of the president general, it might be another considerable improvement.

RAISE SOLDIERS AND EQUIP VESSELS, &C.

That they raise and pay soldiers, and build forts for the defence of any of the colonies, and equip vessels of force to guard the coasts, and to protect the trade on the ocean, lakes,[1] *or great rivers; but they shall not impress men in any colony, without the consent of the legislature.*

It was thought, that quotas of men, to be raised and paid by the several colonies, and joined for any public service, could not always be got together with the necessary expedition. For instance, suppose one thousand men should be wanted in New Hampshire on any emergency; to fetch them by fifties and hundreds out of every colony, as far as South Carolina, would be inconvenient, the transportation chargeable, and the occasion perhaps passed before they could be assembled; and therefore, that it would be best to raise them (by offering bounty-money and pay) near the place

[1] According to a plan which had been proposed by Governor Pownall, and approved of by Congress. Administration of the Colonies, vol. ii. p. 148. B. V

where they would be wanted, to be discharged again when the service should be over.

Particular colonies are at present backward to build forts at their own expense, which they say will be equally useful to their neighboring colonies; who refuse to join, on a presumption that such forts *will* be built and kept up, though they contribute nothing. This unjust conduct weakens the whole; but the forts being for the good of the whole, it was thought best that they should be built and maintained by the whole, out of the common treasury.

In the time of war, small vessels of force are sometimes necessary in the colonies to scour the coast of small privateers. These being provided by the union, will be an advantage in turn to the colonies which are situated on the sea, and whose frontiers on the land-side being covered by other colonies, reap but little immediate benefit from the advanced forts.

POWER TO MAKE LAWS, LAY DUTIES, &c.

That for these purposes they have power to make laws, and lay and levy such general duties, imposts, or taxes, as to them shall appear most equal and just (considering the ability and other circumstances of the inhabitants in the several colonies), and such as may be collected with the least inconvenience to the people; rather discouraging luxury, than loading industry with unnecessary burthens.

The laws which the president general and grand

council are empowered to make, *are such only* as shall be necessary for the government of the settlements; the raising, regulating, and paying soldiers for the general service; the regulating of Indian trade; and laying and collecting the general duties and taxes. (They should also have a power to restrain the exportation of provisions to the enemy from any of the colonies, on particular occasions, in time of war.) But it is not intended that they may interfere with the constitution and government of the particular colonies; who are to be left to their own laws, and to lay, levy, and apply their own taxes as before.

GENERAL TREASURER AND PARTICULAR TREASURER.

That they may appoint a general treasurer and particular treasurer in each government when necessary: and, from time to time, may order the sums in the treasuries of each government into the general treasury; or draw on them for special payments, as they find most convenient.

The treasurers here meant are only for the general funds, and not for the particular funds of each colony, which remain in the hands of their own treasurers at their own disposal.

MONEY HOW TO ISSUE.

Yet no money to issue but by joint orders of the president general and grand council; except where

sums have been appropriated to particular purposes, and the president general is previously empowered by act to draw for such sums.

To prevent misapplication of the money, or even application that might be dissatisfactory to the crown or the people, it was thought necessary to join the president general and grand council in all issues of money.

ACCOUNTS.

That the general accounts shall be yearly settled and reported to the several assemblies.

By communicating the accounts yearly to each assembly, they will be satisfied of the prudent and honest conduct of their representatives in the grand council.

QUORUM.

That a quorum of the grand council, empowered to act with the president general, do consist of twenty-five members; among whom there shall be one or more from a majority of the colonies.

The quorum seems large; but it was thought it would not be satisfactory to the colonies in general, to have matters of importance to the whole transacted by a smaller number, or even by this number of twenty-five, unless there were among them one at least from a majority of the colonies; because otherwise, the whole quorum being made up of members from three or four colonies at one end of

the union, something might be done that would not be equal with respect to the rest, and thence dissatisfactions and discords might arise to the prejudice of the whole.

LAWS TO BE TRANSMITTED.

That the laws made by them for the purposes aforesaid, shall not be repugnant, but, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of England, and shall be transmitted to the king in council for approbation, as soon as may be after their passing; and, if not disapproved within three years after presentation, to remain in force.

This was thought necessary for the satisfaction of the crown, to preserve the connexion of the parts of the British empire with the whole, of the members with the head, and to induce greater care and circumspection in making of the laws, that they be good in themselves and for the general benefit.

DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT GENERAL.

That in case of the death of the president general, the speaker of the grand council for the time being shall succeed, and be vested with the same powers and authorities, to continue till the king's pleasure be known.

It might be better, perhaps, as was said before, if the crown appointed a vice-president, to take place on the death or absence of the president general; for so we should be more sure of a suita-

ble person at the head of the colonies. On the death or absence of both, the speaker to take place (or rather the eldest king's-governor) till his majesty's pleasure be known.

OFFICERS HOW APPOINTED.

That all military commission officers, whether for land or sea-service, to act under this general constitution, shall be nominated by the president general; but the approbation of the grand council is to be obtained, before they receive their commissions. And all civil officers are to be nominated by the grand council, and to receive the president general's approbation before they officiate.

It was thought it might be very prejudicial to the service, to have officers appointed unknown to the people, or unacceptable; the generality of Americans serving willingly under officers they know, and not caring to engage in the service under strangers, or such as are often appointed by governors through favor or interest. The service here meant, is not the stated settled service in standing troops, but any sudden and short service, either for defence of our own colonies, or invading the enemy's country; (such as the expedition to Cape Breton in the last war, in which many substantial farmers and tradesmen engaged as common soldiers, under officers of their own country, for whom they had an esteem and affection, who would not have engaged in a standing army, or

under officers from England.) It was therefore thought best to give the council the power of approving the officers, which the people will look upon as a great security of their being good men. And without some such provision as this, it was thought the expense of engaging men in the service on any emergency would be much greater, and the number who could be induced to engage much less; and that therefore it would be most for the king's service and general benefit of the nation, that the prerogative should relax a little in this particular throughout all the colonies in America, as it had already done much more in the charters of some particular colonies, viz. Connecticut and Rhode Island.

The civil officers will be chiefly treasurers and collectors of taxes; and the suitable persons are most likely to be known by the council.

VACANCIES HOW SUPPLIED.

But in case of vacancy by death, or removal of any officer civil or military under this constitution, the governor of the province in which such vacancy happens may appoint, till the pleasure of the president general and grand council can be known.

The vacancies were thought best supplied by the governors in each province, till a new appointment can be regularly made; otherwise the service might suffer before the meeting of the president general and grand council.

EACH COLONY MAY DEFEND ITSELF ON EMERGENCY, &c.

That the particular military as well as civil establishments in each colony remain in their present state, the general constitution notwithstanding; and that on sudden emergencies any colony may defend itself, and lay the accounts of expense thence arising before the president general and grand council, who may allow and order payment of the same, as far as they judge such accounts just and reasonable.

Otherwise the union of the whole would weaken the parts, contrary to the design of the union. The accounts are to be judged of by the president general and grand council, and allowed if found reasonable: this was thought necessary to encourage colonies to defend themselves, as the expense would be light when borne by the whole: and also to check imprudent and lavish expense in such defences.[1]

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[1] This plan of union, it will appear from the next page, was rejected; and another proposed to be substituted by the English minister, which had for its chief object the taking power from the *people* in the colonies in order to give it to the *crown*. B. V.

REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING PLAN.

(*Written by Dr. Franklin, February* 9, 1789.)

On reflection it seems probable, that if the foregoing plan had been adopted and carried into execution, the present separation of the colonies from the mother country might not so soon have happened, nor the mischiefs which on both sides have occurred, perhaps during another century. For the colonies, if so united, would have really been, as they then thought themselves, sufficient to their own defence, and being trusted with it as by the plan, an army from Britain for that purpose would have been unnecessary. The pretences for framing the Stamp Act would then not have existed, nor the other projects for drawing a revenue from America to Britain by acts of parliament, which were the cause of the breach, and attended with such terrible expense of blood and treasure: so that the different parts of the empire might still have remained in peace and union. But the fate of this plan was singular. After many days' thorough discussion of all its parts in congress, it was unanimously agreed to; and copies ordered to be sent to the assemblies of each province for concurrence, and one to the ministry in England for the approbation of the crown. The crown disapproved it, as having placed too much weight in the democratic part of the constitution; and

every assembly, as having allowed too much to prerogative. So it was totally rejected.

B. F.

ALBANY PAPERS CONTINUED.

I. LETTER *to Governor Shirley, concerning the Imposition of direct Taxes upon the Colonies, without their consent.*[1]

SIR, *Tuesday Morning.*

I RETURN you the loose sheets of the Plan, with thanks to your excellency for communicating them.

I apprehend, that excluding the people of the colonies from all share in the choice of the grand

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[1] These letters to Governor Shirley first appeared in the London Chronicle for Feb. 6-8, 1766, with an introduction signed *A Lover of Britain.* In the beginning of the year 1770, they were republished in Almon's Remembrancer, with an additional prefatory piece, under the signature of *A Mourner over our Calamities.*—I shall explain the subject of them in the words of one of these writers. "The Albany Plan of Union was sent to the government here for approbation: had it been approved and established by authority from hence, English America thought itself sufficiently able to cope with the French, without other assistance; several of the colonies having alone, in former wars, withstood the whole power of the enemy, unassisted not only by the mother country, but by any of the neighboring provinces. The plan, however, was not approved here; but a *new one* was formed instead of it; by which it was proposed, that 'the governors of all the colonies, attended by

council, will give extreme dissatisfaction; as well as the taxing them by act of parliament, where they have no representation. It is very possible, that this general government might be as well and

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one or two members of their respective councils, should assemble, and concert measures for the defence of the whole, erect forts where they judged proper, and raise what troops they thought necessary, with power to draw on the treasury here for the sums that should be wanted, and the treasury to be reimbursed by a *tax laid on the colonies by act of parliament.*"— This *new plan* being communicated by Governor Shirley to a gentleman of Philadelphia (Dr. Franklin) then in Boston (who hath very eminently distinguished himself, before and since that time, in the literary world, and whose judgment, penetration, and candor, as well as his readiness and ability to suggest, forward, or carry into execution, every scheme of public utility, hath most deservedly endeared him, not only to our fellow-subjects throughout the continent of North America, but to his numberless friends on this side the Atlantic), occasioned the following remarks from him, which perhaps may contribute in some degree to its being laid aside. As they very particularly show the then sentiments of the Americans on the subject of a parliamentary tax, before the French power in that country was subjected, and before the late restraints on their commerce; they satisfy me, and I hope they will convince your readers (contrary to what has been advanced by some of your correspondents) that those particulars have had no share in producing the present opposition to such a tax, nor in disturbances occasioned by it, which these papers indeed do almost prophetically foretel. For this purpose, having accidentally fallen into my hands, they are communicated to you by one who is, *partially*, but in *the most enlarged sense*,

"A LOVER OF BRITAIN." B. V.

faithfully administered without the people, as with them; but where heavy burdens are to be laid upon them, it has been found useful, to make it as much as possible their own act; for they bear better when they have, or think they have, some share in the direction; and when any public measures are generally grievous, or even distasteful, to the people, the wheels of government move more heavily.

II. LETTER *to the same; concerning direct Taxes in the Colonies imposed without consent, indirect Taxes, and the Albany Plan of Union.*

SIR, *Wednesday Morning.*

I MENTIONED it yesterday to your excellency as my opinion, that excluding the people of the colonies from all share in the choice of the grand council, would probably give extreme dissatisfaction, as well as the taxing them by act of parliament, where they have no representation. In matters of general concern to the people, and especially where burdens are to be laid upon them, it is of use to consider, as well what they will be apt to think and say, as what they ought to think. I shall therefore, as your excellency requires it of me, briefly mention what of either kind occurs to me on this occasion.

First, they will say, and perhaps with justice, that the body of the people in the colonies are as loyal, and as firmly attached to the present con-

stitution and reigning family, as any subjects in the king's dominions.

That there is no reason to doubt the readiness and willingness of the representatives they may choose, to grant from time to time such supplies for the defence of the country, as shall be judged necessary, so far as their abilities will allow.

That the people in the colonies, who are to feel the immediate mischiefs of invasion and conquest by an enemy, in the loss of their estates, lives, and liberties, are likely to be better judges of the quantity of forces necessary to be raised and maintained, forts to be built and supported, and of their own abilities to bear the expense, than the parliament of England, at so great a distance.

That governors often come to the colonies merely to make fortunes, with which they intend to return to Britain; are not always men of the best abilities or integrity; have many of them no estates here, nor any natural connexions with us, that should make them heartily concerned for our welfare; and might possibly be fond of raising and keeping up more forces than necessary, from the profits accruing to themselves, and to make provision for their friends and dependants.

That the counsellors in most of the colonies, being appointed by the crown, on the recommendation of governors, are often persons of small estates, frequently dependent on the governors for offices, and therefore too much under influence.

That there is therefore great reason to be jealous of a power, in such governors and councils, to raise such sums as they shall judge necessary, by drafts on the lords of the treasury, to be afterwards laid on the colonies by act of parliament, and paid by the people here; since they might abuse it, by projecting useless expeditions, harassing the people, and taking them from their labor to execute such projects, merely to create offices and employments, and gratify their dependants, and divide profits.

That the parliament of England is at a great distance, subject to be misinformed and misled by such governors and councils, whose united interests might probably secure them against the effect of any complaint from hence

That it is supposed an undoubted right of Englishmen, not to be taxed but by their own consent, given through their representatives.

That the colonies have no representatives in parliament.

That to propose taxing them by parliament, and refuse them the liberty of choosing a representative council, to meet in the colonies, and consider and judge of the necessity of any general tax, and the *quantum*, shows a suspicion of their loyalty to the crown, or of their regard for their country, or of their common sense and understanding; which they have not deserved.

That compelling the colonies to pay money without their consent, would be rather like raising

contributions in an enemy's country, than taxing of Englishmen for their own public benefit.

That it would be treating them as a conquered people, and not as true British subjects.

That a tax laid by the representatives of the colonies might be easily lessened as the occasions should lessen; but, being once laid by parliament under the influence of the representations made by governors, would probably be kept up, and continued for the benefit of governors: to the grievous burthen and discontentment of the colonies, and prevention of their growth and increase.

That a power of governors, to march the inhabitants from one end of the British and French colonies to the other, being a country of at least one thousand five hundred miles long, without the approbation or the consent of their representatives first obtained to such expeditions, might be grievous and ruinous to the people, and would put them upon a footing with the subjects of France in Canada, that now groan under such oppression from their governor, who for two years past has harassed them with long and destructive marches to Ohio.

That if the colonies in a body may be well governed by governors and councils appointed by the crown, without representatives; particular colonies may as well, or better be so governed; a tax may be laid upon them all by act of parliament for support of government; and their assem-

blies may be dismissed as an useless part of the constitution.

That the powers proposed by the Albany plan of union, to be vested in a grand council representative of the people, even with regard to military matters, are not so great, as those which the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut are entrusted with by their charters, and have never abused; for by this plan, the president general is appointed by the crown, and controls all by his negative; but in those governments, the people choose the governor, and yet allow him no negative.

That the British colonies bordering on the French are properly frontiers of the British empire; and the frontiers of an empire are properly defended at the joint expense of the body of the people in such empire;—it would now be thought hard by act of parliament to oblige the Cinque-ports or sea-coasts of Britain, to maintain the whole navy, because they are more immediately defended by it, not allowing them at the same time a vote in choosing members of the parliament; and, as the frontiers of America bear the expense of their own defence, it seems hard to allow them no share in voting the money, judging of the necessity and sum, or advising the measures.

That besides the taxes necessary for the defence of the frontiers, the colonies pay yearly great sums to the mother country unnoticed:—for,

1. Taxes paid in Britain by the landholder or artificer, must enter into and increase the price of the produce of land and manufactures made of it; and great part of this is paid by consumers in the colonies, who thereby pay a considerable part of the British taxes.

2. We are restrained in our trade with foreign nations; and where we could be supplied with any manufacture cheaper from them, but must buy the same dearer from Britain, the difference of price is a clear tax to Britain.

3. We are obliged to carry a great part of our produce directly to Britain; and where the duties laid upon it lessen its price to the planter, or it sells for less than it would in foreign markets, the difference is a tax paid to Britain.

4. Some manufactures we could make, but are forbidden, and must take them of British merchants; the whole price is a tax to Britain.

5. By our greatly increasing the demand and consumption of British manufactures, their price is considerably raised of late years; the advantage is clear profit to Britain, and enables its people better to pay great taxes; and much of it being paid by us, is clear tax to Britain.

6. In short, as we are now suffered to regulate our trade, and restrain the importation and consumption of British superfluities (as Britain can the consumption of foreign superfluities), our whole wealth centers finally amongst the merchants and

inhabitants of Britain; and if we make them richer, and enable them better to pay their taxes, it is nearly the same as being taxed ourselves, and equally beneficial to the crown.

These kind of secondary taxes, however, we do not complain of, though we have no share of the laying or disposing of them; but to pay immediate heavy taxes, in the laying, appropriation, and disposition of which we have no part, and which perhaps we may know to be as unnecessary as grievous, must seem hard measure to Englishmen, who cannot conceive, that by hazarding their lives and fortunes in subduing and settling new countries, extending the dominion, and increasing the commerce of the mother-nation, they have forfeited the native rights of Britons; which they think ought rather to be given to them, as due to such merit, if they had been before in a state of slavery.

These, and such kinds of things as these, I apprehend, will be thought and said by the people, if the proposed alteration of the Albany plan should take place. Then the administration of the board of governors and council so appointed, not having the representative body of the people to approve and unite in its measures, and conciliate the minds of the people to them, will probably become suspected and odious; dangerous animosities and feuds will arise between the governors and governed: and every thing go into confusion.

Perhaps I am too apprehensive in this matter;

but having freely given my opinion and reasons, your excellency can judge better than I, whether there be any weight in them, and the shortness of the time allowed me will, I hope, in some degree excuse the imperfections of this scrawl.

With the greatest respect and fidelity, I have the honor to be your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant, B. FRANKLIN.

III. LETTER *to the same, on the subject of uniting the Colonies more intimately with Great Britain, by allowing them Representatives in Parliament.*

SIR, *Boston, Dec.* 22, 1754.

Since the conversation your excellency was pleased to honor me with, on the subject of *uniting the colonies* more intimately with Great Britain, by allowing them *representatives in parliament*, I have something further considered that matter, and am of opinion, that such an union would be very acceptable to the colonies, provided they had a reasonable number of representatives allowed them; and that all the old acts of parliament restraining the trade, or cramping the manufactures of the colonies, be at the same time repealed, and the British subjects *on this side the water* put, in those respects, on the same footing with those in Great Britain, till the new parliament, representing the whole, shall think it for the interest of the whole to re-enact some or all of them: it is not that I

imagine so many representatives will be allowed the colonies, as to have any great weight by their numbers; but I think there might be sufficient to occasion those laws to be better and more impartially considered, and perhaps to overcome the interest of a petty corporation, or of any particular set of artificers or traders in England, who heretofore seem, in some instances, to have been more regarded than all the colonies, or than was consistent with the general interest, or best natural good. I think too, that the government of the colonies by a parliament, in which they are fairly represented, would be vastly more agreeable to the people, than the method lately attempted to be introduced by royal instruction; as well as more agreeable to the nature of an English constitution, and to English liberty; and that such laws, as now seem to bear hard on the colonies, would (when judged by such a parliament for the best interest of the whole) be more cheerfully submitted to, and more easily executed.

I should hope, too, that by such an union, the people of Great Britain, and the people of the colonies, would learn to consider themselves, as not belonging to different communities with different interests, but to one community with one interest; which I imagine would contribute to strengthen the whole, and greatly lessen the danger of future separations.

It is, I suppose, agreed to be the general interest of any state, that its people be numerous and rich;

men enow to fight in its defence, and enow to pay sufficient taxes to defray the charge; for these circumstances tend to the security of the state, and its protection from foreign power. But it seems not of so much importance, whether the fighting be done by John or Thomas, or the tax paid by William or Charles. The iron manufacture employs and enriches British subjects; but is it of any importance to the state, whether the manufacturer lives at Birmingham or Sheffield, or both; since they are still within its bounds, and their wealth and persons still at its command? Could the Goodwin Sands be laid dry by banks, and land equal to a large country thereby gained to England, and presently filled with English inhabitants, would it be right to deprive such inhabitants of the common privileges enjoyed by other Englishmen, the right of vending their produce in the same ports, or of making their own shoes; because a merchant or a shoemaker, living on the old land, might fancy it more for his advantage to trade or make shoes for them? Would this be right, even if the land were gained at the expense of the state? and would it not seem less right, if the charge and labor of gaining the additional territory to Britain had been borne by the settlers themselves? and would not the hardship appear yet greater, if the people of the new country should be allowed no representatives in the parliament enacting such impositions? Now I look on the colonies as so

many countries gained to Great Britain, and more advantageous to it, than if they had been gained out of the seas around its coasts, and joined to its land; for being in different climates, they afford greater variety of produce, and materials for more manufactures; and being separated by the ocean, they increase much more its shipping and seamen: and since they are all included in the British empire, which has only extended itself by their means; and the strength and wealth of the parts is the strength and wealth of the whole; what imports it to the general state, whether a merchant, a smith, or a hatter, grow rich in Old or New England? and if, through increase of people, two smiths are wanted for one employed before, why may not the *new* smith be allowed to live and thrive in the *new* country, as well as the *old* one in the *old*? In fine, why should the countenance of a state be *partially* afforded to its people, unless it be most in favor of those who have most merit? And if there be any difference, those who have most contributed to enlarge Britain's empire and commerce, increase her strength, her wealth, and the numbers of her people, at the risk of their own lives and private fortunes in new and strange countries, methinks ought rather to expect some preference. With the greatest respect and esteem, I have the honor to be your excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

Plan for settling Two Western Colonies in North America, with Reasons for the Plan, 1754.[1]

THE great country back of the Apalachian mountains, on both sides the Ohio, and between

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[1] For the occasion which produced this plan, see what follows. I apprehend it was given to Governor Pownall, 1754, for the purpose of being inserted in his memorial; but this point of anecdote I cannot sufficiently ascertain.

Extract of a Memorial drawn up by order of, and presented to, his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, 1756, by T. Pownall.

"In other parts of our frontier, that are not the immediate residence and country of Indians, some other species of barrier should be thought of, for which nothing can be more effectual than a barrier colony; but even this cannot be carried . . . . . into execution and effect, without the previous measure of *entrepôts* in the country between us and the enemy . . . . All mankind must know, that no body of men, whether as an army, or an emigration of colonists, can march from one country to another, through an inhospitable wilderness, without magazines; nor with any safety, without posts communicating among each other by practicable roads, to which to retire in case of accidents, repulse, or delay.

"It is a fact, which experience evinces the truth of, that we have always been able to outsettle the French; and have driven the Indians out of the country more by settling than fighting; and that whenever our settlements have been wisely and completely made, the French, neither by themselves nor their dogs of war, the Indians, have been able to remove us. It is upon this fact I found the propriety of the measure of settling a barrier colony in those parts of our frontiers, *which are not the immediate residence or hunting-grounds of our* Indians. This is a mea-

that river and the lakes, is now well known, both to the English and French, to be one of the finest

sure that will be effectual; and will not only in time pay its expense, but make as great returns as any of our present colonies do; will give strength and unity to our dominions in North America; and give us possession of our country, as well as settlement in it. But above all this, the state and circumstances of our settlements render such a measure not only proper and eligible, but absolutely necessary. The English settlements, as they are at present circumstanced, are absolutely at a stand; they are settled up to the mountains; and in the mountains there is no where together land sufficient for a settlement large enough to subsist by itself, and to defend itself, and preserve a communication with the present settlements.

"If the English would advance one step farther, or cover themselves where they are, it must be at once, by one large step over the mountains, with a numerous and military colony. Where such should be settled, I do not take upon me to say: at present I shall only point out the measure and the nature of it, by inserting two schemes, one of Dr. Franklin's, the other of your memorialist; and if I might indulge myself with scheming, I should imagine that two such were sufficient, and only requisite and proper: one at the back of Virginia, filling up the vacant space between the five nations and southern confederacy, and connecting into our system our barrier; the other somewhere in the Cohass or Connecticut river, or wherever best adapted to cover the New England colonies. These, with the little settlements mentioned above in the Indian countries, complete my idea of this branch." See Governor Pownall's Administration of the Colonies, vol. ii. p. 228—231, 5th edition.

The reader must carry along with him a distinction between the plans of Dr. Franklin and Governor Pownall here referred to. The first (which is before him) is particular, and proposes a plan for *two* settlements in the unlocated lands to the westward of

in North America, for the extreme richness and fertility of the land, the healthy temperature of the air, and mildness of the climate; the plenty of hunting, fishing, and fowling; the facility of trade with the Indians; and the vast convenience of inland navigation or water-carriage by the lakes and great rivers, many hundreds of leagues around.

From these natural advantages it must undoubtedly (perhaps in less than another century) become a populous and powerful dominion; and a great accession of power, either to England or France.

The French are now making open encroachments on these territories, in defiance of our known rights; and, if we longer delay to settle that country, and suffer them to possess it,—these *inconveniencies and mischiefs* will probably follow:

1. Our people, being confined to the country between the sea and the mountains, cannot much more increase in number; people increasing in proportion to their room and means of subsistence. (See the Observations on the Increase of Mankind, &c.)

2. The French will increase much more, by that

Pennsylvania and the Virginian mountains, and is totally silent with respect to a settlement in New England; the other treats of the mode of settling new colonies in North America in general, leaving the precise situation to be in some measure pointed out by the foregoing extract. B. V.

acquired room and plenty of subsistence, and become a great people behind us.

3. Many of our debtors, and loose English people, our German servants and slaves, will probably desert to them, and increase their numbers and strength, to the lessening and weakening of ours.

4. They will cut us off from all commerce and alliance with the western Indians, to the great prejudice of Britain, by preventing the sale and consumption of its manufactures.

5. They will, both in time of peace and war, (as they have always done against New-England) set the Indians on to harass our frontiers, kill and scalp our people, and drive in the advanced settlers; and so, in preventing our obtaining more subsistence by cultivating of new lands, they discourage our marriages, and keep our people from increasing; thus (if the expression may be allowed) killing thousands of our children before they are born . . . . . .

If two strong colonies of English were settled between the Ohio and lake Erie, in the places hereafter to be mentioned,—these advantages might be expected:

1. They would be a great security to the frontiers of our other colonies; by preventing the incursions of the French and French Indians of Canada, on the back parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas; and the frontiers of such new colonies would be much more

easily defended, than those of the colonies last mentioned now can be, as will appear hereafter.

2. The dreaded junction of the French settlements in Canada with those of Louisiana would be prevented.

3. In case of a war, it would be easy, from those new colonies, to annoy Louisiana, by going down the Ohio and Mississippi; and the southern part of Canada, by sailing over the lakes; and thereby confine the French within narrower limits.

4. We should secure the friendship and trade of the Miamis and Twigwees (a numerous people, consisting of many tribes, inhabiting the country between the west end of lake Erie, and the south end of lake Huron, and the Ohio), who are at present dissatisfied with the French, and fond of the English, and would gladly encourage and protect an infant English settlement in or near their country, as some of their chiefs have declared to the writer of this memoir. Further, by means of the lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, our trade might be extended through a vast country, among many numerous and distant nations, greatly to the benefit of Britain.

5. The settlement of all the intermediate lands, between the present frontiers of our colonies on one side, and the lakes and Mississippi on the other, would be facilitated and speedily executed, to the great increase of Englishmen, English trade, and English power.

The grants to most of the colonies are of long narrow slips of land, extending west from the Atlantic to the South Sea. They are much too long for their breadth; the extremes at too great a distance; and therefore unfit to be continued under their present dimensions.

Several of the old colonies may conveniently be limited westward by the Alleghany or Apalachian mountains; and new colonies formed west of those mountains.

A single old colony does not seem strong enough to extend itself otherwise than inch by inch; it cannot venture a settlement far distant from the main body, being unable to support it; but if the colonies were united under one governor-general and grand council, agreeable to the Albany plan, they might easily, by their joint force, establish one or more new colonies, whenever they should judge it necessary or advantageous to the interest of the whole.

But if such union should not take place, it is proposed that two charters be granted, *each* for some considerable part of the lands west of Pennsylvania and the Virginian mountains, to a number of the nobility and gentry of Britain, with such Americans as shall join them in contributing to the settlement of those lands, either by paying a proportion of the expense of making such settlements, or by actually going thither in person, and settling themselves and families.

That by such charters it be granted, that every actual settler be entitled to a tract of acres for himself, and acres for every poll in the family he carries with him; and that every contributor of guineas be entitled to a quantity of acres, equal to the share of a single settler, for every such sum of guineas contributed and paid to the colony treasurer; a contributor for shares to have an additional share *gratis;* that settlers may likewise be contributors, and have right of land in both capacities.

That as many and as great privileges and powers of government be granted to the contributors and settlers, as his Majesty in his wisdom shall think most fit for their benefit and encouragement, consistent with the general good of the British empire; for extraordinary privileges and liberties, with lands on easy terms, are strong inducements to people to hazard their persons and fortunes in settling new countries; and such powers of government as (though suitable to the circumstances, and fit to be trusted with an infant colony, might be judged unfit when it becomes populous and powerful) these might be granted for a term only; as the choice of their own governor for ninety-nine years; the support of government in the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island (which *now* enjoy that and other like privileges) being much less expensive, than in the colonies

under the immediate government of the crown, and the constitution more inviting.

That the first contributors to the amount of guineas be empowered to choose a treasurer to receive the contribution.

That no contributions be paid till the sum of thousand guineas be subscribed.

That the money thus raised be applied to the purchase of the lands from the Six Nations and other Indians; and of provisions, stores, arms, ammunition, carriages, &c. for the settlers; who, after having entered their names with the treasurer, or person by him appointed to receive and enter them, are, upon public notice given for that purpose, to rendezvous at a place to be appointed, and march in a body to the place destined for their settlement, under the [charge] of the government to be established over them. Such rendezvous and march however not to be directed till the number of names of settlers entered, capable of bearing arms, amount at least to thousand . .

It is apprehended, that a great sum of money might be raised in America on such a scheme as this; for there are many who would be glad of any opportunity, by advancing a small sum at present, to secure land for their children, which might in a few years become very valuable; and a great number, it is thought, of actual settlers might likewise be engaged (some from each of our present colo-

nies) sufficient to carry it into full execution by their strength and numbers; provided only, that the crown would be at the expense of removing the little forts the French have erected in their encroachments on his Majesty's territories, and supporting a strong one near the falls of Niagara, with a few small armed vessels, or half-galleys, to cruise on the lakes.

For the security of this colony in its infancy, a small fort might be erected, and for some time maintained, at Buffalo Creek, on the Ohio, above the settlement; and another at the mouth of the Tioga, on the south side of lake Eric, where a port should be formed, and a town erected for the trade of the lakes.—The colonists for *this settlement* might march by land through Pennsylvania . . .

The river Sciota, which runs into the Ohio about two hundred miles below Logs Town, is supposed the fittest seat for the *other colony*; there being for forty miles on each side of it, and quite up to its heads, a body of all rich land; the finest spot of its bigness in all North America, and has the particular advantage of sea-coal in plenty (even above ground in two places) for fuel, when the woods shall be destroyed. This colony would have the trade of the Miamis or Twigwees; and should, at first, have a small fort near Hockkockin, at the head of the river, and another near the mouth of Wabash. Sanduski, a French fort

near the lake Erie, should also be taken; and all the little French forts south and west of the lakes, quite to the Mississippi, be removed, or taken and garrisoned by the English. The colonists for this settlement might assemble near the heads of the rivers in Virginia, and march over land to the navigable branches of the Kanhawa, where they might embark with all their baggage and provisions, and fall into the Ohio, not far above the mouth of Sciota; or they might rendezvous at Willis' Creek, and go down the Monongahela to Ohio.

The fort and armed vessels at the strait of Niagara would be a vast security to the frontiers of these new colonies against any attempts of the French from Canada. The fort at the mouth of the Wabash would guard that river, the Ohio, and Cutava river, in case of any attempt from the French of Mississippi. (Every fort should have a small settlement round it; as the fort would protect the settlers, and the settlers defend the fort, and supply it with provisions.) . . . .

The difficulty of settling the first English colonies in America, at so great a distance from England, must have been vastly greater than the settling these proposed new colonies: for it would be the interest and advantage of all the present colonies to support these new ones; as they would cover their frontiers, and prevent the growth of the French power behind or near their present settle-

ments; and the new country is nearly at equal distance from all the old colonies, and could easily be assisted from all of them.

And as there are already in all the old colonies many thousands of families that are ready to swarm, wanting more land; the richness and natural advantage of the Ohio country would draw most of them thither, were there but a tolerable prospect of a safe settlement. So that the new colonies would soon be full of people; and, from the advantage of their situation, become much more terrible to the French settlements, than those are now to us. The gaining of the back Indian trade from the French, by the navigation of the lakes, &c. would of itself greatly weaken our enemies: it being now their principal support, it seems highly probable, that in time they must be subjected to the British crown, or driven out of the country.

Such settlements may be better made now, than fifty years hence, because it is easier to settle ourselves, and thereby prevent the French settling there as they seem now to intend, than to remove them when strongly settled.

If these settlements are postponed, then more forts and stronger, and more numerous and expensive garrisons must be established to secure the country, prevent their settling, and secure our present frontiers; the charge of which may probably

exceed the charge of the proposed settlements, and the advantage nothing near so great.

The fort at Oswego should likewise be strengthened, and some armed half-gallies, or other small vessels, kept there to cruise on lake Ontario, as proposed by Mr. Pownall in his paper laid before the commissioners at the Albany treaty.[1]

If a fort was also built at Tirondequat on lake Ontario, and a settlement made there near the lake side, where the lands are said to be good, (much better than at Oswego,) the people of such settlements would help to defend both forts on any emergency.[2]

REMARKS AND FACTS RELATIVE TO THE AMERICAN PAPER-MONEY,[3] 1764.

[Referred to in MEMOIRS, Part III.]

IN the REPORT of the BOARD of TRADE, dated February 9, 1764, the following Reasons are given

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[1] See his work above quoted, Vol. II. p. 234, *et seq.* and p. 179, *et seq.*

[2] The whole proposal was neglected, though the French thought a considerable settlement very practicable, in order to get at the Ohio. See Governor Pownall, Vol. II. p. 236. B. V.

[3] During the war, there had been a considerable and unusual trade to America, in consequence of the great fleets and armies on foot there, and the clandestine dealings with the enemy, who

for *restraining the emission of* paper-bills of credit in America, as *a legal tender*.

1. "That it *carries the gold and silver out* of the province, and so ruins the country; as *experience has shown*, in every colony where it has been practised in any great degree.

2. "That the *merchants* trading to America *have suffered* and lost by it.

3. "That the restriction [of it] *has had a beneficial effect* in New England.

4. "That every *medium of trade should have an intrinsic value*, which paper-money has not. Gold and silver are therefore the fittest for this medium, as they are an equivalent; which paper never can be.

5. "That *debtors* in the assemblies make paper-money with *fraudulent views*.

6. "That in the middle colonies, where the credit of the paper-money has been best supported, the bills have *never kept to their nominal value* in circulation; but have constantly depreciated to a

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were cut off from their own supplies. This made great debts. The briskness of the trade ceasing with the war, the merchants were anxious for payment; which occasioned some confusion in the colonies, and stirred up a clamor (in England) against *paper-money*. The board of trade, of which Lord Hillsborough was the chief, joined in this opposition to paper-money, as appears by the report. Dr. Franklin being asked to draw up an answer to their report, wrote the above. B. V.

certain degree, whenever the quantity has been increased."

To consider these Reasons in their order; the first is,

1. "*That paper-money* carries the gold and silver out *of the province, and so ruins the country; as* experience has shown, *in every colony where it has been practised in any great degree.*" This opinion, of its ruining the country, seems to be merely speculative, or not otherwise founded than upon misinformation in the matter of fact. The truth is, that the balance of their trade with Britain being greatly against them, the gold and silver is drawn out to pay that balance; and then the necessity of some medium of trade has induced the making of paper-money, which could *not* be carried away. Thus, if carrying out all the gold and silver ruins a country, every colony was ruined before it made paper-money. But, far from being ruined by it, the colonies that have made use of paper-money, have been, and are, all in thriving condition. The debt indeed to Britain has increased, because their numbers, and of course their trade, have increased; for all trade having always a proportion of debt outstanding, which is paid in its turn, while fresh debt is contracted, the proportion of debt naturally increases as the trade increases; but the improvement and increase of estates in the colonies has been in a greater pro-

portion than their debt. *New England*, particularly, in 1696, (about the time they began the use of paper-money,) had in all its four provinces but 130 churches or congregations; in 1760 they were 530. The number of farms and buildings there is increased in proportion to the numbers of people; and the goods exported to them from England in 1750, before the restraint took place, were near five times as much as before they had paper-money. *Pennsylvania*, before it made any paper-money, was totally stript of its gold and silver; though they had from time to time, like the neighboring colonies, agreed to take gold and silver coins at higher and higher nominal values, in hopes of drawing money into, and retaining it, for the internal uses of the province. During that weak practice, silver got up by degrees to 8s. 9d. per ounce; and English crowns were called six, seven, and eight shilling pieces, long before paper-money was made. But this practice of increasing the denomination, was found not to answer the end. The balance of trade carried out the gold and silver as fast as it was brought in; the merchants raising the price of their goods in proportion to the increased denomination of the money. The difficulties for the want of cash were accordingly very great, the chief part of the trade being carried on by the extremely inconvenient method of barter; when in 1723 paper-money was first made there, which gave new life to business, pro-

moted greatly the settlement of new lands, (by lending small sums to beginners on easy interest, to be repaid by instalments,) whereby the province has so greatly increased in inhabitants, that the export from hence thither is now more than tenfold what it then was; and by their trade with foreign colonies, they have been able to obtain great quantities of gold and silver to remit hither in return for the manufactures of this country. *New York* and *New Jersey* have also increased greatly during the same period, with the use of paper-money; so that it does not appear to be of the ruinous nature ascribed to it. And if the inhabitants of those countries are glad to have the use of paper among themselves, that they may thereby be enabled to spare for remittances hither, the gold and silver they obtain by their commerce with foreigners; one would expect that no objection against their parting with it could arise here, in the country that receives it.

The 2d reason is, "*That the* merchants *trading to America have* suffered *and lost by the paper-money.*" —This may have been the case in particular instances, at particular times and places; as in *South Carolina* about fifty-eight years since, when the colony was thought in danger of being destroyed by the Indians and Spaniards, and the British merchants, in fear of losing their whole effects there, called precipitately for remittances; and the inhabitants, to get something lodged in

safe countries, gave any price in paper-money for bills of exchange, whereby the paper, as compared with bills, or with produce, or other effects fit for exportation, was suddenly and greatly depreciated. The unsettled state of government for a long time in that province, had also its share in depreciating its bills. But since that danger blew over, and the colony has been in the hands of the crown, their currency became fixed, and has so remained to this day. Also in *New England*, when much greater quantities were issued than were necessary for a medium of trade, to defray the expedition against Louisbourg; and, during the last war in *Virginia* and *North Carolina*, when great sums were issued to pay the colony troops, and the war made tobacco a poorer remittance, from the higher price of freight and insurance; in these cases, the merchants trading to those colonies may sometimes have suffered by the sudden and unforeseen rise of exchange. By slow and gradual rises they seldom suffer, the goods being sold at proportionable prices. But war is a common calamity in all countries, and the merchants that deal with them cannot expect to avoid a share of the losses it sometimes occasions, by affecting public credit. It is hoped, however, that the profits of their subsequent commerce with those colonies may have made them some reparation. And the merchants trading to the *Middle Colonies* (New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania,) have never suffered by

any rise of exchange, it having ever been a constant rule there to consider British debts as payable in Britain, and not to be discharged but by as much paper (whatever might be the rate of exchange) as would purchase a bill for the full sterling sum. On the contrary, the merchants have been great gainers by the use of paper-money in those colonies; as it enabled them to send much greater quantities of goods, and the purchasers to pay more punctually for them. And the people there make no complaint of any injury done them by paper-money, with a legal tender: they are sensible of its benefits, and petition to have it so allowed.

The 3d reason is, "*That the* restriction *has had a* beneficial effect *in New England.*"—Particular circumstances in the *New England* colonies, made paper-money less necessary and less convenient to them. They have great and valuable fisheries of whale and cod, by which large remittances can be made. They are four distinct governments; but having much mutual intercourse of dealings, the money of each used to pass current in all; but the whole of this common currency not being under one common direction, was not so easily kept within due bounds; the prudent reserve of one colony in its emissions being rendered useless by excess in another. The Massachusetts, therefore, were not dissatisfied with the restraint, as it restrained their neighbors as well as themselves;

and perhaps *they* do not desire to have the act repealed. They have not yet felt much inconvenience from it, as they were enabled to abolish their paper-currency by a large sum in silver from Britain, to reimburse their expenses in taking Louisbourg, which, with the gold brought from Portugal, by means of their fish, kept them supplied with a currency, till the late war furnished them and all America with bills of exchange, so that little cash was needed for remittance. Their fisheries too furnish them with remittance through Spain and Portugal to England, which enables them the more easily to retain gold and silver in their country. The *middle Colonies* have not this advantage; nor have they tobacco, which in *Virginia* and *Maryland* answers the same purpose. When colonies are so different in their circumstances, a regulation that is not inconvenient to one or a few, may be very much so to the rest. But the pay is now become so indifferent in New England, at least in some of its provinces, through the want of currency, that the trade thither is at present under great discouragement.

The 4th reason is, "That every *medium of trade* should have an *intrinsic value*, which paper-money has not. Gold and silver are therefore the fittest for this medium, as they are an equivalent, which paper can never be."—However fit a particular thing may be for a particular purpose, wherever that thing is not to be had, or not to be had in

sufficient quantity, it becomes necessary to use something else, the fittest that can be got, in lieu of it. Gold and silver are not the produce of North America, which has no mines; and that which is brought thither cannot be kept there in sufficient quantity for a currency. *Britain*, an independent great state, when its inhabitants grow too fond of the expensive luxuries of foreign countries, that draw away its money, can, and frequently does, make laws to discourage or prohibit such importations, and by that means can retain its cash. The *colonies* are dependent governments, and their people having naturally great respect for the sovereign country, and being thence immoderately fond of its modes, manufactures, and superfluities, cannot be restrained from purchasing them by any province law; because such law, if made, would immediately be repealed here, as prejudicial to the trade and interest of Britain. It seems hard, therefore, to draw all their real money from them, and then refuse them the poor privilege of using paper instead of it. Bank bills and bankers' notes are daily used *here* as a medium of trade; and in large dealings, perhaps the greater part is transacted by their means; and yet *they* have no intrinsic value, but rest on the credit of those that issue them, as paper-bills in the colonies do on the credit of the respective governments there. Their being payable in cash upon sight by the drawer, is indeed a circumstance that cannot attend the

colony bills, for the reasons just above mentioned, their cash being drawn from them by the British trade; but the legal tender being substituted in its place, is rather a greater advantage to the possessor, since he need not be at the trouble of going to a *particular bank* or banker to demand the money, finding (wherever he has occasion to lay out money in the province) a person that is obliged to take the bills. So that even out of the province, the knowledge that every man within that province is obliged to take its money, gives the bill a credit among its neighbors nearly equal to what they have at home. And were it not for the laws *here*, that restrain or prohibit as much as possible all losing trades, the cash of *this* country would soon be exported; every merchant who had occasion to remit it, would run to the bank with all its bills that came into his hands, and take out his part of its treasure for that purpose; so that in a short time it would be no more able to pay bills in money upon sight, than it is now in the power of a colony treasury so to do. And if government afterwards should have occasion for the credit of the bank, it must of necessity make its bills a legal tender; funding them however on taxes, by which they may in time be paid off, as has been the general practice in the colonies. At this very time, even the silver-money in England is obliged to the legal tender for part of its value; that part which is the difference between its real weight and its denomi-

nation. Great part of the shillings and sixpences now current are, by wearing, become 5, 10, 20, and some of the sixpences even 50 per cent. too light. For this difference between the *real* and the *nominal*, you have no *intrinsic* value: you have not so much as paper; you have nothing. It is the legal tender, with the knowledge that it can easily be repassed for the same value, that makes three-penny-worth of silver pass for sixpence. Gold and silver have undoubtedly *some* properties that give them a fitness above paper as a medium of exchange, particularly their *universal estimation;* especially in cases where a country has occasion to carry its money abroad, either as a stock to trade with, or to purchase *allies* and *foreign succours*. Otherwise that very universal estimation is an inconvenience which paper-money is free from, since it tends to deprive a country of even the quantity of currency that should be retained as a necessary instrument of its internal commerce, and obliges it to be continually on its guard in making, and executing at a great expense, the laws that are to prevent the trade which exports it. Paper-money well funded has another great advantage over gold and silver; its lightness of carriage, and the little room that is occupied by a great sum; whereby it is capable of being more easily, and more safely, because more privately, conveyed from place to place. Gold and silver are not *intrinsically* of equal value with iron, a metal in

itself capable of many more beneficial uses to mankind. Their value rests chiefly in the estimation they happen to be in among the generality of nations, and the credit given to the opinion that that estimation will continue: otherwise a pound of gold would not be a real equivalent for even a bushel of wheat. Any other well-founded credit is as much an equivalent as gold and silver, and in some cases more so, or it would not be preferred by commercial people in different countries. Not to mention again our own bank bills, Holland, which understands the value of cash as well as any people in the world, would never part with gold and silver for credit (as they do when they put it into their bank, from whence little of it is ever afterwards drawn out[1]) if they did not think and find the credit a full equivalent.

The 5th reason is, "*That* debtors *in the assemblies make paper-money* with fraudulent views." This is often said by the adversaries of paper-money, and if it has been the case in any particular colony, that colony should, on the proof of the fact, be duly punished. This, however, would be no reason for punishing other colonies, who have *not* so abused their legislative powers. To deprive all the colonies of the convenience of paper-money, because it has been charged on some of them, that they

[1] Perhaps Dr. Franklin had not at this time read what Sir James Stuart says of the Amsterdam bank re-issuing its money. B. V.

have made it an instrument of fraud, is as if all the India, Bank, and other stocks and trading companies were to be abolished, because there has been once in an age Mississippi and South Sea schemes and bubbles.

The 6th and last reason is, "*That in the middle colonies, where the paper-money has been best supported, the bills have* never kept to their nominal value *in circulation, but have constantly depreciated to a certain degree, whenever the quantity has been increased.*" —If the rising of the value of any particular commodity wanted for exportation, is to be considered as a depreciation of the values of *whatever remains* in the country, then the rising of silver above paper to that height of additional value, which its capability of exportation only gave it, may be called a depreciation of the paper. Even here, as bullion has been wanted or not wanted for exportation, its price has varied from 5s. 2d. to 5s. 8d. per ounce. This is near 10 per cent. But was it ever said or thought on such an occasion, that all the bank bills, and all the coined silver, and all the gold in the kingdom, were depreciated 10 per cent.? Coined silver is now wanted here for change, and 1 per cent. is given for it by some bankers; are gold and bank notes therefore depreciated 1 per cent.?—The fact in the middle colonies is really this: on the emission of the first paper-money, a difference soon arose between that and the silver, the latter having a property the former had not, a

property always in demand in the colonies; to wit, its being fit for a remittance. This property having soon found its value by the merchants bidding on one another for it, and a dollar thereby coming to be rated at 8s. in paper-money of New York, and 7s. 6d. in paper of Pennsylvania; it has continued uniformly at those rates in both provinces, now near 40 years, without any variation upon new emissions, though in Pennsylvania the paper currency has at times increased from 15,000*l.* the first sum, to 600,000*l.* or near it.—Nor has any alteration been occasioned by the paper-money, in the price of the necessaries of life, when compared with silver: they have been for the greatest part of the time no higher than before it was emitted, varying only by plenty and scarcity according to the seasons, or by a less or greater foreign demand.—It has indeed been usual with the adversaries of a paper currency, to call every rise of exchange with London, a depreciation of this paper: but this notion appears to be by no means just. For if the paper purchases every thing but bills of exchange at the former rate, and these bills are not above one-tenth of what is employed [in] purchases, then it may be more properly and truly said, that the exchange has risen, than that the paper has depreciated. And as a proof of this, it is a certain fact, that whenever in those colonies bills of exchange have been dearer, the purchaser has been constantly obliged to give more in silver as well as in

paper for them, the silver having gone hand in hand with the paper at the rate above mentioned, and therefore it might as well have been said that the silver was depreciated.

There have been several different schemes for furnishing the colonies with paper-money, that should *not* be a legal tender, viz.

1. *To form a Bank in imitation of the Bank of England, with a sufficient stock of cash* to pay the bills on sight.

This has been often proposed, but appears impracticable under the present circumstances of the colony trade, which, as is said above, draws all the cash to Britain, and would soon strip the bank.

2. *To* raise a fund *by some yearly tax, securely lodged in the Bank of* England *as it arises, which should* (during the term of years *for which the paper-bills are to be current*) accumulate *to a sum sufficient to discharge them all at their* original value.

This has been tried in Maryland, and the bills so funded were issued without being made a general legal tender. The event was, that as notes payable in time are naturally subject to a discount proportioned to the time, so these bills fell at the beginning of the term so low, as that twenty pounds of them became worth no more than twelve pounds in Pennsylvania, the next neighboring province; though both had been struck near the same time at the same nominal value, but the latter was supported by the general legal tender. The Mary-

land bills however began to rise as the term shortened, and towards the end recovered their full value. But as a depreciating currency injures creditors, *this* injured debtors, and by its continually changing value appears unfit for the purpose of money, which should be as fixed as possible in its own value, because it is to be the measure of the value of other things.

3. *To make the bills* carry an interest *sufficient to support their value.*

This too has been tried in some of the New England colonies, but great inconveniencies were found to attend it. The bills, to fit them for a currency, are made of various denominations, and some very low for the sake of change; there are of them from 10*l.* down to 3*d.* When they first come abroad they pass easily, and answer the purpose well enough for a few months; but as soon as the interest becomes worth computing, the calculation of it on every little bill in a sum between the dealer and his customers in shops, warehouses, and markets, takes up much time, to the great hindrance of business. This evil, however, soon gave place to a worse; for the bills were in a short time gathered up and hoarded, it being a very tempting advantage to have money bearing interest, and the principal all the while in a man's power ready for bargains that may offer, which money out on mortgage is not. By this means numbers of people became usurers with small sums, who could not have

found persons to take such sums of them upon interest, giving good security, and would therefore not have thought of it, but would rather have employed the money in some business if it had been money of the common kind. Thus trade, instead of being increased by such bills, is diminished; and by their being shut up in chests, the very end of making them, (viz. to furnish a medium of commerce) is in a great measure, if not totally, defeated.

On the whole, no method has hitherto been formed to establish a medium of trade in lieu of money, equal in all its advantages to bills of credit —funded on sufficient taxes for discharging it, or on land-security of double the value for repaying it at the end of the term, and, in the mean time, made a GENERAL LEGAL TENDER. The experience of now near half a century in the middle colonies, has convinced them of it among themselves, by the great increase of their settlements, numbers, buildings, improvements, agriculture, shipping, and commerce. And the same experience has satisfied the British merchants who trade thither, that it has been greatly useful to them, and not in a single instance prejudicial.

It is therefore hoped, that securing the full discharge of British debts which are payable here, and in all justice and reason ought to be fully discharged here in sterling money, the restraint on the legal tender within the colonies will be taken

off, at least for those colonies that desire it, and where the merchants trading to them make no objection to it.

CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN DISCONTENTS BEFORE 1768.

[*Referred to in Memoirs of the Life, Part II.*]

The waves never rise but when the winds blow. *Prov.*

SIR,[1]

As the cause of the present ill-humor in America, and of the resolutions taken there to purchase less of our manufactures, does not seem to be generally understood; it may afford some satisfaction to your readers, if you give them the following short historical state of facts.

From the time that the colonies were first considered as capable of *granting aids to the crown*, down to the end of the last war, it is said, that the constant mode of obtaining those aids was, by requisition made from the crown, through its governors, to the several assemblies, in circular letters from the secretary of state, in his majesty's name; setting forth the occasion, requiring them to take the

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[1] This letter first appeared in a *London* paper, *January* 7, 1768, and was afterwards reprinted as a postscript to *The true Sentiments of* America, printed for *Almon*, 1768.

matter into consideration, and expressing a reliance on their prudence, duty, and affection to his majesty's government, that they would grant such sums, or raise such numbers of men, as were suitable to their respective circumstances.

The colonies being accustomed to this method, have from time to time granted money to the crown, or raised troops for its service, in proportion to their abilities; and during all the last war beyond their abilities; so that considerable sums were returned them yearly by parliament, as they had exceeded their proportion.

Had this happy method of requisition been continued, (a method that left the king's subjects in those remote countries the pleasure of showing their zeal and loyalty, and of imagining that they recommended themselves to their sovereign by the liberality of their voluntary grants) there is no doubt, but all the money that could reasonably be expected to be raised from them in any manner, might have been obtained, without the least heart-burning, offence, or breach of the harmony of affections and interests that so long subsisted between the two countries.

It has been thought wisdom in a government exercising sovereignty over different kinds of people, to have *some regard to prevailing and established opinions* among the people to be governed; wherever such opinions might, in their effects, obstruct or promote public measures. If they tend to ob-

struct public service, they are to be changed, if possible, before we attempt to act against them; and they can only be changed by reason and persuasion. But if public business can be carried on without thwarting those opinions; if they can be, on the contrary, made subservient to it; they are not unnecessarily to be thwarted, however absurd such popular opinions may be in their nature.

This had been the wisdom of our government with respect to raising money in the colonies. It was well known, that the colonists universally were of opinion, that no money could be levied from English subjects, but by their own consent, given by themselves or their chosen representatives; that therefore whatever money was to be raised from the people in the colonies, must first be granted by their assemblies, as the money raised in Britain is first to be granted by the house of commons; that this right of granting their own money, was essential to English liberty; and that if any man, or body of men, in which they had no representative of their choosing, could tax them at pleasure, they could not be said to have any property, any thing they could call their own. But as these opinions did not hinder their granting money voluntarily and amply, whenever the crown by its servants came into their assemblies (as it does into its parliaments of *Britain* or *Ireland*) and demanded aids; therefore that method was chosen, rather than the hateful one of arbitrary taxes.

I do not undertake here to support these opinions of the Americans; they have been refuted by a late act of parliament, declaring its own power; —which very parliament, however, showed wisely so much tender regard to those inveterate prejudices, as to repeal a tax that had militated against them. And those prejudices are still so fixed and rooted in the Americans, that, it has been supposed, not a single man among them has been convinced of his error, even by that act of parliament.

The person then who first projected to lay aside the accustomed method of requisition, and to raise money on America by *stamps*, seems not to have acted wisely, in deviating from that method (which the colonists looked upon as constitutional), and thwarting unnecessarily the fixed prejudices of so great a number of the king's subjects.—It was not, however, for want of knowledge, that what he was about to do would give them offence; he appears to have been very sensible of this, and apprehensive that it might occasion some disorders; to prevent or suppress which, he projected another bill that was brought in the same session with the stamp act, whereby it was to be made lawful for military officers in the colonies to quarter their soldiers in private houses. This seemed intended to awe the people into a compliance with the other act. Great opposition however being raised here against the bill by the agents from the colonies, and the merchants trading thither, (the colonists declaring,

that under such a power in the army, no one could look on his house as his own, or think he had a a home, when soldiers might be thrust into it and mixed with his family at the pleasure of an officer,) that part of the bill was dropt; but there still remained a clause, when it passed into a law, to oblige the several assemblies to provide quarters for the soldiers, furnishing them with firing, bedding, candles, small beer or rum, and sundry other articles, at the expense of the several provinces. And this act continued in force when the stamp act was repealed; though, if obligatory on the assemblies, it equally militated against the American principle above mentioned—that money is not to be raised on English subjects without their consent.

The colonies nevertheless, being put into high good-humor by the repeal of the stamp act, chose to avoid a fresh dispute upon the other, it being temporary and soon to expire, never, as they hoped, to revive again; and in the mean time they, by various ways, in different colonies, provided for the quartering of the troops; either by acts of their own assemblies, without taking notice of the act of *parliament*, or by some variety or small diminution, as of salt and vinegar, in the supplies required by the act; that what they did might appear a voluntary act of their own, and not done in due obedience to an *act of parliament*, which, according to their ideas of their rights, they thought hard to obey.

It might have been well if the matter had then passed without notice; but a governor having written home an angry and aggravating letter upon this conduct in the assembly of his province, the outed proposer[1] of the stamp act and his adherents (then in the opposition) raised such a clamor against America, as being in rebellion; and against those who had been for the repeal of the stamp act, as having thereby been encouragers of this supposed rebellion; that it was thought necessary to enforce the quartering act by another act of parliament, taking away from the province of New York (which had been the most explicit in its refusal) all the powers of legislation, till it should have complied with that act. The news of which greatly alarmed the people everywhere in America, as (it had been said) the language of such an act seemed to them to be—obey implicitly laws made by the parliament of *Great Britain* to raise money on you without your consent, or you shall enjoy no rights or privileges at all.

At the same time, a person lately in high office,[2] projected the levying more money, from America, by new duties on various articles of our own manufacture, (as glass, paper, painters' colors, &c.) appointing a new board of customs, and sending over a set of commissioners, with large salaries, to

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[1] Mr. George Grenville.

[2] Mr. Charles Townsend.

be established at Boston, who were to have the care of collecting those duties; which were by the act expressly mentioned to be intended for the payment of the salaries of governors, judges, and other officers of the crown in *America*; it being a pretty general opinion here, that those officers ought not to depend on the people there, for any part of their support.

It is not my intention to combat this opinion.—But perhaps it may be some satisfaction to your readers, to know what ideas the Americans have on the subject. They say then, as to *governors*, that they are not like princes, whose posterity have an inheritance in the government of a nation, and therefore an interest in its prosperity; they are generally strangers to the provinces they are sent to govern; have no estate, natural connexion or relation there, to give them an affection for the country: that they come only to make money as fast as they can; are sometimes men of vicious characters and broken fortunes, sent by a minister merely to get them out of the way: that as they intend staying in the country no longer than their government continues, and purpose to leave no family behind them, they are apt to be regardless of the good-will of the people, and care not what is said or thought of them after they are gone. Their situation, at the same time, gives them many opportunities of being vexatious; and they are often so, notwithstanding their dependence on the

assemblies for all that part of their support, that does not arise from fees established by law; but would probably be much more so, if they were to be supported by money drawn from the people without their consent or good-will; which is the professed design of this new act. That if by means of these forced duties government is to be supported in America, without the intervention of the assemblies, their assemblies will soon be looked upon as useless; and a governor will not call them, as having nothing to hope from their meeting, and perhaps, something to fear from their inquiries into, and remonstrances against, his maladministration. That thus the people will be deprived of their most essential rights. That it being (as at present) a governor's interest to cultivate the good-will, by promoting the welfare, of the people he governs,—can be attended with no prejudice to the mother-country; since all the laws he may be prevailed on to give his assent to are subject to revision here, and if reported against by the board of trade, are immediately repealed by the crown; nor dare he pass any law contrary to his instructions; as he holds his office during the pleasure of the crown, and his securities are liable for the penalties of their bonds if he contravenes those instructions. This is what they say as to governors.

As to *judges*, they allege, that being appointed from this country, and holding their commissions

not during good behaviour, as in Britain, but during pleasure; all the weight of interest or influence would be thrown into one of the scales (which ought to be held even) if the salaries are also to be paid out of duties raised upon the people without their consent, and independent of their assemblies' approbation or disapprobation of the judge's behaviour. That it is true, judges should be free from all influence; and therefore, whenever government here will grant commissions to able and honest judges during good behaviour, the assemblies will settle permanent and ample salaries on them during their commissions; but, at present, they have no other means of getting rid of an ignorant or an unjust judge (and some of scandalous characters have, they say, been sometimes sent them) left, but by starving them out.

I do not suppose these reasonings of theirs will appear here to have much weight. I do not produce them with an expectation of convincing your readers. I relate them merely in pursuance of the task I have imposed on myself, to be an impartial historian of American facts and opinions.

The colonists being thus greatly alarmed, as I said before, by the news of the act for abolishing the legislature of New York, and the imposition of these new duties, professedly for such disagreeable purposes (accompanied by a new set of revenue officers, with large appointments, which gave strong suspicions, that more business of the same

kind was soon to be provided for them, that they might earn their salaries), began seriously to consider their situation; and to revolve afresh in their minds, grievances which, from their respect and love for this country, they had long borne, and seemed almost willing to forget. They reflected how lightly the interest of *all* America had been estimated here, when the interests of a *few* of the inhabitants of Great Britain happened to have the smallest competition with it. That the whole American people was forbidden the advantage of a direct importation of wine, oil, and fruit, from Portugal; but must take them loaded with all the expense of a voyage one thousand leagues round about, being to be landed first in England, to be re-shipped for America; expenses amounting, in war time at least, to thirty pounds per cent. more than otherwise they would have been charged with; and all this, merely that a few Portugal merchants in London may gain a commission on those goods passing through their hands—(Portugal merchants, by the bye, that can complain loudly of the smallest hardships laid on their trade by foreigners, and yet even in the last year could oppose with all their influence the giving ease to their fellow-subjects laboring under so heavy an oppression!) That on a slight complaint of a few Virginia merchants, nine colonies had been restrained from making paper-money, become absolutely necessary to their internal commerce,

from the constant remittance of their gold and silver to Britain. But not only the interest of a particular body of *merchants*, but the interest of any small body of British *tradesmen or artificers*, has been found, they say, to outweigh that of all the king's subjects in the colonies. There cannot be a stronger natural right than that of a man's making the best profit he can of the natural produce of his lands, provided he does not thereby hurt the state in general. Iron is to be found everywhere in America, and the beaver furs are the natural produce of that country: hats, and nails, and steel, are wanted there as well as here. It is of no importance to the common welfare of the empire, whether a subject of the king's obtains his living by making hats on this, or on that side of the water. Yet the hatters of England have prevailed to obtain an act in their own favor, restraining that manufacture in America; in order to oblige the Americans to send their beaver to England to be manufactured, and purchase back the hats, loaded with the charges of a double transportation. In the same manner have a few nail-makers, and a still smaller body of steel-makers, (perhaps there are not half a dozen of these in England) prevailed totally to forbid by an act of parliament the erecting of slitting-mills, or steel furnaces, in America; that the Americans may be obliged to take all their nails for their

buildings, and steel for their tools, from these artificers, under the same disadvantages.[1]

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[1] Note at the end of the fourth paragraph of the Farmer's Seventh Letter, (written by Mr. Dickinson.)

"Many remarkable instances might be produced of the extraordinary inattention with which bills of great importance, concerning these colonies, have passed in parliament; which is owing, as it is supposed, to the bills being brought in, by the persons who have points to carry, so artfully framed, that it is not easy for the members in general, in the haste of business, to discover their tendency.

"The following instances show the truth of this remark:—

"When Mr. Grenville, in the violence of reformation and innovation, formed the 4th George III. chap. 15th, for regulating the American trade, the word 'Ireland' was dropt in the clause relating to our iron and lumber, so that we could send these articles to no other part of Europe, but to Great Britain. This was so unreasonable a restriction, and so contrary to the sentiments of the legislature, for many years before, that it is surprising it should not have been taken notice of in the house. However, the bill passed into a law. But when the matter was explained, this restriction was taken off in a subsequent act.

"I cannot say how long after the taking off this restriction, as I have not the acts; but I think in less than eighteen months, another act of parliament passed, in which the word 'Ireland' was left out, as it had been before. The matter being a second time explained, was a second time regulated.

"Now if it be considered, that the omission mentioned, struck off, with one word, so very great a part of our trade, it must appear remarkable; and equally so is the method by which rice became an enumerated commodity, and therefore could be carried to Great Britain only.

"'The enumeration was obtained,' (says Mr. Gee on Trade, p. 32.) 'by one Cole, a captain of a ship employed by a com-

Added to these, the Americans remembered the act authorising the most cruel insult that perhaps was ever offered by one people to another, that of *emptying our gaols* into their settlements; Scotland too having within these two years obtained the privilege it had not before, of sending its rogues and villains also to the plantations—I say, reflecting on these things, they said one to another, (their newspapers are full of such discourses,) "These people are not content with making a monopoly of us, (forbidding us to trade with any other country of Europe, and compelling us to buy every thing of them, though in many articles we could furnish ourselves ten, twenty, and even

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pany then trading to Carolina; for several ships going from England thither, and purchasing rice for Portugal, prevented the aforesaid captain of a loading. Upon his coming home, he possessed one Mr. Lowndes, a member of parliament, (who was frequently employed to prepare bills) with an opinion, that carrying rice directly to Portugal was a prejudice to the trade of England, and privately got a clause into an act to make it an enumerated commodity; by which means he secured a freight to himself. But the consequence proved a vast loss to the nation.'

"I find that this clause, 'privately got into an act, for the benefit of Captain Cole, to the vast loss of the nation,' is foisted into the 3d Anne, chapter 5th, intitled, 'An act for granting to her majesty a further subsidy on wines and merchandises imported;' with which it has no more connexion, than with 34th Edward I. 34th and 35th of Henry VIII. or the 25th Charles II. which provide that no person shall be taxed but by himself or his representatives."

to fifty per cent. cheaper elsewhere; but now they have as good as declared they have a right to tax us *ad libitum* internally and externally; and that our constitutions and liberties shall all be taken away, if we do not submit to that claim."

"They are not content with the high prices at which they sell us their goods, but have now begun to enhance those prices by new duties; and by the expensive apparatus of a new set of officers, appear to extend an augmentation and multiplication of those burthens that shall still be more grievous to us. Our people have been foolishly fond of their superfluous modes and manufactures, to the impoverishing our own country, carrying off all our cash, and loading us with debt; they will not suffer us to restrain the luxury of our inhabitants, as they do that of their own, by laws; they can make laws to discourage or prohibit the importation of French superfluities; but though those of England are as ruinous to us as the French ones are to them, if we make a law of that kind, they immediately repeal it. Thus they get all our money from us by trade; and every profit we can any where make by our fisheries, our produce, or our commerce, centers finally with them;—but this does not signify. It is time, then, to take care of ourselves by the best means in our power. Let us unite in solemn resolution and engagements with and to each other, that we will give these new officers as little trouble as pos-

sible, by not consuming the British manufactures on which they are to levy the duties. Let us agree to consume no more of their expensive gewgaws. Let us live frugally, and let us industriously manufacture what we can for ourselves; thus we shall be able honorably to discharge the debts we already owe them; and after that, we may be able to keep some money in our country, not only for the uses of our internal commerce, but for the service of our gracious sovereign, whenever he shall have occasion for it, and think proper to require it of us in the old constitutional manner. For notwithstanding the reproaches thrown out against us in their public papers and pamphlets, notwithstanding we have been reviled in their senate as rebels and traitors, we are truly a loyal people. Scotland has had its rebellions, and England its plots against the present royal family; but *America is untainted with those crimes*; there is in it scarce a man, there is not a single native of our country, who is not firmly attached to his king by principle and by affection. But a new kind of loyalty seems to be required of us, a loyalty to parliament; a loyalty that is to extend, it is said, to a surrender of all our properties, whenever a house of commons, in which there is not a single member of our choosing, shall think fit to grant them away without our consent; and to a patient suffering the loss of our privileges as Englishmen, if we cannot submit to make such surrender. We were sepa-

rated too far from Britain by the ocean, but we were united to it by respect and love; so that we could at any time freely have spent our lives and little fortunes in its cause; but this unhappy new system of politics tends to dissolve those bands of union, and to sever us for ever."

These are the wild ravings of the, at present, half-distracted Americans. To be sure, no reasonable man in England can approve of such sentiments, and, as I said before, I do not pretend to support or justify them; but I sincerely wish, for the sake of the manufactures and commerce of Great Britain, and for the sake of the strength which a firm union with our growing colonies would give us; that these people had never been thus needlessly driven out of their senses. I am yours, &c. F. * S.

QUERIES FROM MR. STRAHAN,[1] AND DR. FRANKLIN'S ANSWER.

[Referred to Part III. of Memoirs of the Life.]

TO DR. FRANKLIN.

DEAR SIR, *Nov.* 21, 1769.

IN the many conversations we have had together about our present disputes with North

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[1] Mr. Strahan was printer to the King, and representative in parliament for Malmesbury in Wiltshire. An intimacy of long standing had subsisted between him and Dr. Franklin.

America, we perfectly agreed in wishing they may be brought to a speedy and happy conclusion. How this is to be done is not so easily ascertained.

Two objects, I humbly apprehend, his Majesty's servants have now in contemplation. 1st. To relieve the colonies from the taxes complained of, which they certainly had no hand in imposing. 2dly. To preserve the honor, the dignity, and the supremacy of the British legislature over all his Majesty's dominions.

As I know your singular knowledge of the subject in question, and am as fully convinced of your cordial attachment to his Majesty, and your sincere desire to promote the happiness equally of all his subjects, I beg you would in your own clear, brief, and explicit manner, send me an answer to the following questions: I make this request now, because this matter is of the utmost importance, and must very quickly be agitated. And I do it with the more freedom, as you know me and my motives too well, to entertain the most remote suspicion that I will make an improper use of any information you shall hereby convey to me.

1st. Will not a repeal of all the duties (that on tea excepted, which was before paid here on exportation, and of course no new imposition) fully satisfy the colonists?[1] If you answer in the negative,

[1] In the year 1767, for the express purpose of raising a re-

2dly. Your reasons for that opinion?

3dly. Do you think the only effectual way of composing the present differences, is to put the Americans precisely in the situation they were in before the passing of the late Stamp Act?—If that is your opinion,

4thly. Your reasons for that opinion?

5thly. If this last method is deemed by the legislature and his Majesty's ministers to be repugnant to their duty as guardians of the just rights of the crown and of their fellow-subjects, can you suggest any other way of terminating these disputes consistent with the ideas of justice and propriety conceived by the King's subjects on both sides of the Atlantic?

venue in America; glass, red lead, white lead, painters' colors, paper, and *tea*, (which last article was subject to various home impositions) became charged by act of parliament, with new *permanent* duties payable *in the American ports*. Soon after, in the same sessions, (the East India Company promising indemnification for the experiment,) a *temporary* alteration was made with respect to the *home* customs or excise upon certain teas; in the hope that a deduction in the nominal imposition, by producing a more extended consumption, would give an increased sum to the exchequer. Mr. Strahan, comparing only the *amounts* of the imposed American duty, and the deducted home duty, determines that the Americans had suffered no new imposition. The Americans, it seems, thought otherwise. Had we established this precedent for a revenue, we thought we had every thing to hope; yet we affect surprise, when the colonies avoided an acquiescence, which by parity of reasoning gave *them* every thing to fear. B. V.

6thly. And if this method was actually followed, do you not think it would actually encourage the violent and factious part of the colonists to aim at still farther concessions from the mother-country?

7thly. If they are relieved in part only, what do you, as a reasonable and dispassionate man, and an equal friend to both sides, imagine will be the probable consequences?

The answers to these questions, I humbly conceive, will include all the information I want, and I beg you will favor me with them as soon as may be. Every well-wisher to the peace and prosperity of the British empire, and every friend to our truly happy constitution, must be desirous of seeing even the most trivial causes of dissension among our fellow-subjects removed. Our domestic squabbles, in my mind, are nothing to what I am speaking of. This you know much better than I do, and therefore I need add nothing farther to recommend this subject to your serious consideration. I am, with the most cordial esteem and attachment, dear Sir, your faithful and affectionate humble servant, W. STRAHAN.

THE ANSWER.

DEAR SIR, *Craven Street, Nov.* 29, 1769.

BEING just returned to town from a little excursion, I find yours of the 21st, containing a number of queries that would require a pamphlet

to answer them fully. You, however, desire only brief answers, which I shall endeavor to give.

Previous to your queries, you tell me that you apprehend his Majesty's servants have now "in contemplation, 1st. to relieve the colonists from the taxes complained of; 2dly. to preserve the honor, the dignity, and the supremacy of the British legislature over all his Majesty's dominions." I hope your information is good, and that what you suppose to be in contemplation, will be carried into execution, by repealing all the laws that have been made for raising a revenue in America, by authority of parliament, without the consent of the people there. The honor and dignity of the British legislature will not be hurt by such an act of justice and wisdom. The wisest councils are liable to be misled, especially in matters remote from their inspection. It is the persisting in an error, not the correcting it, that lessens the honor of any man or body of men. The supremacy of that legislature, I believe, will be best preserved by making a very sparing use of it; never but for the evident good of the colonies themselves, or of the whole British empire; never for the partial advantage of Britain, to their prejudice. By such prudent conduct, I imagine that supremacy may be gradually strengthened, and in time fully established; but otherwise, I apprehend it will be disputed, and lost in the dispute. At present the colonies consent and submit to it for the regula-

tions of general commerce; but a submission to acts of parliament was no part of their original constitution. Our former kings governed their colonies as they had governed their dominions in France, without the participation of British parliaments. The parliament of England never presumed to interfere in that prerogative till the time of the great rebellion, when they usurped the government of all the King's other dominions, Ireland, Scotland, &c. The colonies that held for the King, they conquered by force of arms, and governed afterwards as conquered countries: but New England having not opposed the parliament, was considered and treated as a sister-kingdom in amity with England (as appears by the Journals, *March* 10, 1642).

1st. "Will not a repeal of all the duties (that on tea excepted, which was before paid here on exportation, and of course no new imposition) fully satisfy the colonists?"

Answer. I think not.

2dly. "Your reasons for that opinion?"

A. Because it is not the sum paid in that duty on tea that is complained of as a burden, but the principle of the act expressed in the preamble; viz. that those duties were laid for the better support of government, and the administration of justice in the colonies.[1] This the colonists think

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[1] "Men may lose little property by an act which takes away

unnecessary, unjust, and dangerous to their most important rights. *Unnecessary*, because in all the colonies (two or three new ones excepted)[1] government and the administration of justice were, and always had been, well supported without any charge to Britain: *unjust*, as it has made such colonies liable to pay such charge for others' in which they had no concern or interest: *dangerous*, as such mode of raising money for those purposes tended to render their assemblies useless; for if a revenue could be raised in the colonies for all the purposes of government by act of parliament, without grants from the people there, governors, who do not generally love assemblies, would never call them: they would be laid aside, and when nothing should depend on the people's good-will to government, their rights would be trampled on; they would be treated with contempt.—Another reason why I think they would not be satisfied with such a partial repeal is, that their agreements not to import till the repeal takes place, include the whole, which shows that they object to the whole, and those agreements will continue binding on them if the whole is not repealed.

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all their freedom. When a man is robbed of a trifle on the highway, it is not the two-pence lost that makes the capital outrage. Would twenty shillings have ruined Mr. Hampden's fortune? No! but the payment of half twenty shillings, on the principle it was demanded, would have made him a slave." See Mr. Burke's speeches in 1774 and 1775. B. V.

[1] Nova Scotia, Georgia, the Floridas, and Canada.

3dly. "Do you think the only effectual way of composing the present differences, is to put the Americans precisely in the situation they were in before the passing of the late Stamp Act?"

A. I think so.

4thly. "Your reasons for that opinion?"

A. Other methods have been tried.—They have been rebuked in angry letters.—Their petitions have been refused or rejected by parliament.—They have been threatened with the punishments of treason by resolves of both houses.—Their assemblies have been dissolved, and troops have been sent among them: but all these ways have only exasperated their minds and widened the breach. Their agreements to use no more British manufactures have been strengthened, and these measures, instead of composing differences, and promoting a good correspondence, have almost annihilated your commerce with those countries, and greatly endanger the national peace and general welfare.

5thly. "If this last method is deemed by the legislature and his Majesty's ministers to be repugnant to their duty as guardians of the just rights of the crown, and of their fellow-subjects, can you suggest any other way of terminating these disputes, consistent with the ideas of justice and propriety conceived by the King's subjects on *both* sides the Atlantic?"

A. I do not see how that method can be deemed

repugnant to the rights of the crown. If the Americans are put into their former situation, it must be by an act of parliament; in the passing of which by the King, the rights of the crown are exercised, not infringed. It is indifferent to the crown whether the aids received from America are granted by parliament here, or by the assemblies there, provided the *quantum* be the same; and it is my opinion, that more will be generally granted there voluntarily, than can ever be exacted or collected from thence by authority of parliament.—As to the rights of fellow-subjects, (I suppose you mean the people of Britain) I cannot conceive how those will be infringed by that method. They will still enjoy the right of granting their own money, and may still, if it pleases them, keep up their claim to the right of granting ours; a right they can never exercise properly, for want of a sufficient knowledge of us, our circumstances and abilities (to say nothing of the little likelihood there is that we should ever submit to it), therefore a right that can be of no good use to them; and we shall continue to enjoy in fact the right of granting our money, with the opinion now universally prevailing among us, that we are free subjects of the King, and that fellow-subjects of one part of his dominions are not sovereigns over fellow-subjects in any other part.—If the subjects on the different sides of the Atlantic have different and opposite ideas of "justice and propriety," no one "method"

can possibly be consistent with both. The best will be, to let each enjoy their own opinions, without disturbing them, when they do not interfere with the common good.

6thly. "And if this method were actually allowed, do you not think it would encourage the violent and factious part of the colonists to aim at still farther concessions from the mother-country?"

A. I do not think it would. There may be a few among them that deserve the name of factious and violent, as there are in all countries; but these would have little influence, if the great majority of sober reasonable people were satisfied. If any colony should happen to think that some of your regulations of trade are inconvenient to the general interest of the empire, or prejudicial to them without being beneficial to you; they will state these matters to parliament in petitions as heretofore; but will, I believe, take no violent steps to obtain what they may hope for in time from the wisdom of government here. I know of nothing else they can have in view: the notion that prevails here of their being desirous to set up a kingdom or commonwealth of their own, is, to my certain knowledge, entirely groundless. I therefore think, that on a total repeal of all duties, laid expressly for the purpose of raising a revenue on the people of America without their consent, the present uneasiness would subside; the agreements not to import would be dissolved; and the commerce florish as

heretofore ;—and I am confirmed in this sentiment by all the letters I have received from America, and by the opinions of all the sensible people who have lately come from thence, crown-officers excepted. I know, indeed, that the people of Boston are grievously offended by the quartering of troops among them,—as they think, contrary to law; and are very angry with the board of commissioners, who have calumniated them to government :—but as I suppose the withdrawing of those troops may be a consequence of reconciliating measures taking place ; and that the commission also will be either dissolved, if found useless, or filled with more temperate and prudent men, if still deemed useful and necessary ; I do not imagine these particulars would prevent a return of the harmony so much to be wished.[1]

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[1] "The opposition (to Lord Rockingham's administration)" says Lord Chesterfield, "are for taking vigorous, as they call them, but I call them violent, measures ; not less than *les dragonades* ; and to have the tax collected by the troops we have there. For my part, I never saw a froward child mended by whipping : and I would not have the mother become a step-mother." Letter, No. 360.

"Is it a certain maxim," pleads Mr. Burke, "that the fewer causes of dissatisfaction are left by government, the more the subject will be inclined to resist and rebel ?" "I confess I do not feel the least alarm from the discontents which are to arise from putting people at their ease. Nor do I apprehend the destruction of this empire, from giving, by an act of free grace and indulgence, to two millions of my fellow-citizens, some

7th. "If they are relieved in part only, what do you, as a reasonable and dispassionate man, and an equal friend to both sides, imagine will be the probable consequence?"

A. I imagine, that repealing the offensive duties in part will answer no end to this country; the commerce will remain obstructed, and the Americans go on with their schemes of frugality, industry, and manufactures, to their own great advantage. How much that may tend to the prejudice of Britain, I cannot say; perhaps not so much as some apprehend, since she may in time find new markets.[1] But I think, if the union of the two countries continues to subsist, it will not hurt the general interest; for whatever wealth Britain loses by the failing of its trade with the colonies, America will gain; and the crown will receive equal aids from its subjects upon the whole, if not greater.

And now I have answered your questions as to what may be, in my opinion, the consequences of this or that supposed measure, I will go a little farther, and tell you what I fear is more likely to come to pass in *reality*. I apprehend that the ministry, at least the American part of it, being fully persuaded of the right of parliament, think it

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share of those rights, upon which I have always been taught to value myself." Speeches in 1774 and 1775. B. V.

[1] Here is another mark of the author's candor and foresight.

ought to be enforced, whatever may be the consequences; and at the same time do not believe, there is even now any abatement of the trade between the two countries on account of these disputes; or, that if there is, it is small, and cannot long continue. They are assured by the crown-officers in America, that manufactures are impossible there; that the discontented are few, and persons of little consequence; that almost all the people of property and importance are satisfied, and disposed to submit quietly to the taxing power of parliament; and that, if the revenue-acts are continued, and those duties only that are called anti-commercial be repealed, and others perhaps laid in stead; the power ere long will be patiently submitted to, and the agreements not to import be broken, when they are found to produce no change of measures here. From these and similar misinformations, which seem to be credited, I think it likely that no thorough redress of grievances will be afforded to America this session. This may inflame matters still more in that country; farther rash measures there, may create more resentment here, that may produce not merely ill-advised dissolutions of their assemblies, as last year, but attempts to dissolve their constitution;[1] more troops may be sent over, which will create more

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[1] This was afterwards attempted by the British legislature, in the case of the Massachusetts Bay province. B. V.

uneasiness; to justify the measures of government, your writers will revile the Americans in your newspapers, as they have already begun to do; treating them as miscreants, rogues, dastards, rebels, &c. to alienate the minds of the people here from them, and which will tend farther to diminish their affections to this country. Possibly, too, some of their warm patriots may be distracted enough to expose themselves by some mad action to be sent for hither; and government here be indiscreet enough to hang them, on the act of Henry VIII.[1] Mutual provocations will thus go on to complete the separation; and instead of that cordial affection that once and so long existed, and that harmony, so suitable to the circumstances, and so necessary to the happiness, strength, safety, and welfare of both countries; an implacable malice and mutual hatred, such as we now see subsisting between the Spaniards and Portuguese, the Genoese and Corsicans, from the same original misconduct in the superior governments, will take place: the sameness of nation, the similarity of religion, manners, and language, not in the least preventing in our case, more than it did in theirs. —I hope, however, that this may all prove false prophecy, and that you and I may live too see as

[1] The lords and commons very prudently concurred in an address for this purpose; and the king graciously assured them of his compliance with their wishes. B. V.

sincere and perfect a friendship established between our respective countries, as has so many years subsisted between Mr. Strahan, and his truly affectionate old friend, B. FRANKLIN.

STATE OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COLONIES, BY GOVERNOR POWNALL;[1]—WITH REMARKS BY DR. FRANKLIN.

[PRINCIPLES.]

1. Wherever any Englishmen go forth without the realm, and make settlements *in partibus exteris*, 'These settlements as English settlements, and these inhabitants as English subjects, (carrying with them the laws of the land wherever they form colonies, and receiving his Majesty's protection by virtue of his royal charter'[2] or commissions of government,) 'have and enjoy all liberties and

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[1] This *State of the Constitution of the Colonies* was printed at the close of 1769, and communicated to various persons, with a view to prevent mischief, from the misunderstandings between the government of Great Britain and the people of America. I have taken the liberty of ascribing it to Governor Pownall, as his name could have been no secret at the time.—Dr. Franklin's remarks (which from their early date are the more curious) are in manuscript; and from an observation in reply, signed T. P., appear to have been communicated to Governor Pownall.—The large type with the lower notes, mark *what belongs to Governor Pownall;* and the smaller type, mixed with the larger one, and signed B. F., mark *what belongs to Dr. Franklin.* B. V.

[2] Pratt and York.

immunities of free and natural subjects, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever; as if they and every of them were born within the realm;'' and are bound by the like allegiance as every other subject of the realm.

Rem. The settlers of colonies in America did not carry with them the *laws of the land*, as being bound by them wherever they should settle. They left the realm to avoid the inconveniencies and hardships they were under, where some of those laws were in force: particularly ecclesiastical laws, those for payment of tythes, and others. Had it been understood that they were to carry these laws with them, they had better have staid at home among their friends, unexposed to the risk and toils of a new settlement. They carried with them, a right to *such parts* of the *laws of the land*, as they should judge advantageous or useful to them: a right to be *free* from those they thought hurtful; and a right to make such others, as they should think necessary, not infringing the general rights of Englishmen; and such *new* laws they were to form, as agreeable as might be to the laws of England. *B. F.*

2. Therefore, the *common law of England*, and all *such statutes* as were enacted and in force at *the time* in which such settlers went forth, and such colonies and plantations were established, (except as hereafter excepted) together with all such alterations and amendments as the said common law may have received; is from time to time, and at all times, the law of those colonies and plantations.

Rem. So far as they have adopted it; by express laws or by practice. *B. F.*

General words in all charters.

3. Therefore all statutes touching the *right of the succession*, and settlement of the crown, with the statutes of treason relating thereto;[1] all statutes *regulating* or limiting the general powers and *authority of the crown*, and the exercise of jurisdiction thereof; all statutes *declaratory of the rights and liberty of the subject*; do extend to all British subjects in the colonies and plantations as of common right, and as if they and every of them were born within the realm.

Rem. It is doubted whether any settlement of the crown by parliament takes place in the colonies, otherwise than by the consent of the assemblies there. Had the rebellion in 1745 succeeded so far as to settle the Stuart family again on the throne, by act of parliament, I think the colonies would not have thought

[1] [i. e.] All statutes respecting the general relation between the crown and the subject; not such as respect any particular or peculiar establishment of the realm of England. As for instance: by 13th and 14th of Car. II. c. 2. the supreme military power is declared to be in general, without limitation, in his Majesty, and to have always been of right annexed to the office of King of England, throughout all his Majesty's realms and dominions;—yet the enacting clause, which respects only the peculiar establishment of the militia of England, extends to the realm of England only: so that the supreme military power of the crown in all other his Majesty's realms and dominions stands, *as to this statute*, on the basis of its general power, unlimited. However, the several legislatures of his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, of his dominions of Virginia, and of the several colonies and plantations in America; have, by laws to which the King hath given his consent, operating within the precincts of their several jurisdictions, limited the powers of it, and regulated the exercise thereof.

themselves bound by such act. They would still have adhered to the present family, as long as they could. *B. F.*

[*Obs. in Reply*. They are bound to the king and his successors, and we know no succession but by act of parliament. *T. P.*]

4. All statutes enacted *since* the establishment of colonies and plantations, do extend to and operate within the said colonies and plantations, in which statutes the same *are specially named.*

Rem. It is doubted whether any act of parliament should *of right* operate in the colonies: *in fact*, several of them have and do operate. *B. F.*

5. Statutes and customs which respect only the *special and local circumstances* of the realm, do not extend to and operate within said colonies and plantations, where no such special and local circumstances are found.—(Thus the *ecclesiastical and canon* law, and all *statutes respecting tythes*; the laws respecting *courts baron and copyholds*; the *game acts*; the statutes *respecting the poor*, and settlements; and all other laws and statutes having special reference to special and local circumstances and establishments within the realm;—do not extend to and operate within these settlements, *in partibus exteris*, where no such circumstances or establishments exist).

Rem. These laws have no force in America: not merely because local circumstances differ; but because they have never been adopted, or brought over by acts of assembly or by practice in the courts. *B. F.*

6. No statutes made *since* the establishment of said colonies and plantations (except as above

described in Articles 3 and 4), do extend to and operate within said colonies and plantations.

Query.—Would any statute made since the establishment of said colonies and plantations, which statute imported to *annul* and abolish the powers and jurisdictions of their respective constitutions of government, where the same was not contrary to the laws, or any otherwise forfeited or abated; or which statute imported to take away, or did take away, the rights and privileges of the settlers as British subjects;—would such statute, as of right, extend to and operate within said colonies and plantations?

Answer. No. The parliament has no such power. The charters cannot be altered but by consent of both parties, the king and the colonies. *B. F.*

[Corollaries *from the foregoing Principles.*]

Upon the matters of fact, right and law, as above stated, it is, that the British subjects thus settled *in partibus exteris* without the realm, so long as they are excluded from an entire union with the realm as parts of and within the same; have a right to have (as they have) and to be governed by (as they are) a *distinct entire civil government*; of the like powers, pre-eminences, and jurisdictions, (conformable to the like rights, privileges, immunities, franchises, and civil liberties,) as are to be found and are established in the British government, respecting the British subject within the realm.

Rem. Right. *B. F.*

Hence also it is, that the *rights of the subject*, as declared in the Petition of Rights, that the *limitation of the prerogative* by the Act for abolishing the Star Chamber and for regulating the Privy Council, &c.; that the Habeas Corpus Act, the Statute of Frauds, the Bill of Rights, do of common right extend to, and are in force within, said colonies and plantations.

Rem. Several of these rights are established by special colony laws. If any are not yet so established, the colonies have right to such laws: and the covenant having been made in the charters by the king, for himself and his successors, such laws ought to receive the royal assent *as of right*. *B. F.*

Hence it is, that the *freeholders* within the precincts of these jurisdictions have (as of right they ought to have) a *share in the power of making those laws* which they are to be governed by, by the right which they have of sending their representatives, to act for them and to consent for them, in all matters of legislation; which representatives, when met in general assembly, have, together with the crown, a right to perform and do all the like acts respecting the matters, things, and rights, within the precincts of their jurisdiction, as the parliament hath respecting the realm and British dominions.

Hence also it is, that all the *executive offices*, (from the supreme civil magistrate, as *locum tenens* to the king, down to that of constable and headborough,) must of right be established with all and the like powers, neither more nor less than as

defined by the constitution and law, as in fact they are established.

Hence it is, that the *judicial offices and courts of justice*, established within the precincts of said jurisdictions, have, as they ought of right to have, all those jurisdictions and powers 'as fully and amply, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, as the courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, within his Majesty's kingdom of England have, and ought to have; and are empowered to give judgment and award execution thereupon.'[1]

Hence it is, that by the possession, enjoyment, and exercise of his Majesty's *great seal*, delivered to his Majesty's governor, there is established within the precincts of the respective jurisdictions all the same and like *powers of Chancery* (except where by charters specially excluded), as his majesty's chancellor within his majesty's kingdom of England hath, and of right ought to have, by delivery of the great seal of England. And hence it is, that all the like rights, privileges, and powers, follow the use, exercise, and application of the great seal of each colony and plantation within the precincts of said jurisdiction; as doth, and ought of right, to follow the use, exercise, and application of the great seal.

Hence also it is, that *appeals in real actions*, 'whereby the lands, tenements, and hereditaments

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[1] Law in New England, confirmed by the crown, Oct. 22, 1700.

of British subjects may be drawn into question and disposed of,'[1] do not lie, as of right and by law they ought not to lie, to the king in council.

Hence also it is, that there is *not* any law now in being, whereby *the subject* within said colonies and plantations can be *removed*[2] *from the jurisdic-*

[1] 16th Car. I. c. 10.

[2] The case of the court erected by Act of Parliament, 11th and 12th of William III. c. 7. (since the enacting of the Habeas Corpus Act) for the trial of piracies, felonies, and robberies committed in or upon the sea, or in any haven, river, creek, or place where the Admiral has jurisdiction, does no way affect this position: nor doth the 14th § of the said statute, directing that the commissioners, of whom such court consists, may issue their warrant for apprehending such pirates, &c. in order to their being tried in the colonies, or sent into England, any way militate with the doctrine here laid down: nor can it be applied as the case of a jurisdiction actually existing, which supersedes the jurisdictions of the courts in the colonies and plantations, and as what authorises the taking the accused of such piracies, &c. from those jurisdictions, and the sending such, so taken, to England for trial. It cannot be applied as a case similar and in point to the application of an Act of Parliament (passed in the 35th of Hen. VIII. concerning the trial of treasons), lately recommended, in order to the sending persons accused of committing crimes in the plantations, to England for trial: because this Act of the 11th and 12th of William, cap. 7. respects crimes committed in places "where the Admiral has jurisdiction," and cases to which the jurisdiction of those provincial courts do not extend. In the case of treasons committed within the jurisdiction of the colonies and plantations, there are courts competent to try such crimes, and to give judgment thereupon, where the trials of such are regulated by laws to which the king

tion to which he is amenable in all his rights, and through which his service and allegiance must be derived to the crown, and from which no appeal lies in criminal causes; so as that such subject may become amenable to a jurisdiction foreign to his natural and legal resiancy, to which he may be thereby transported, and under which he may be brought to trial and receive judgment, contrary to the rights and privileges of the subject, as declared by the spirit and intent, and especially by the 16th §. of the Habeas Corpus Act. And if the person of any subject within the said colonies and plantations *should* be seized or detained by any power issuing from any court, without the jurisdiction of the colony where he then had his legal resiancy, it would become the duty of the courts of justice *within* such colony (it is undoubtedly of their jurisdiction so to do) to issue the writ of *Habeas Corpus*.[1]

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hath given his consent; from which there lies no appeal, and wherein the king hath given power and instruction to his governor as to execution or respite of judgment. The said Act of Hen. VIII. which provides remedy for a case which supposes *the want* of due legal jurisdiction, cannot be any way, or by any rule, applied to a case where there *is* due legal and competent jurisdiction.

[1] The referring to an old Act made for the trial of treasons committed out of the realm, by such persons as had no legal resiancy but within the realm, and who were of the realm; applying the purview of that statute which was made to bring subjects of the realm, who had committed treason out of the realm

Hence also it is, that in like manner as "the *command and disposition of the militia, and of all forces 'by sea and land*, and of all forts and places of strength, is, and by the laws of *England* ever was, the undoubted right of his Majesty, and his royal predecessors kings and queens of England, within all his Majesty's realms and dominions;"[1] in like manner as the supreme military power and command (so far as the constitution knows of and will justify its establishment) is inseparably annexed to, and forms an essential part of, the office of supreme civil magistrate, the office of King: in like manner, in all *governments under the King*, where the constituents are British subjects, and of full and perfect right entitled to the British laws and constitution, the supreme military command within

(where there was no criminal jurisdiction to which they could be amenable), to trial within the realm, under that criminal jurisdiction to which alone, by their legal resiancy and allegiance, they were amenable; applying this to the case of subjects whose *legal* resiancy is *without* the realm, and who are by that resiancy and their allegiance, amenable to a jurisdiction authorised and empowered to try and give judgment upon all capital offences whatsoever, without appeal; thus applying this statute so as to take up a proceeding, for which there is no legal process either by common or statute law as now established, but in defiance of which there is a legal process established by the Habeas Corpus Act, would be to disfranchise the subject in America of those rights and liberties, which, by statute and common law, he is now entitled to.

[1] 13th and 14th Car. II. c. 2.

the precincts of such jurisdictions, must be inseparably annexed to the office of supreme civil magistrate; (his Majesty's Regent, Vicegerent, Lieutenant, or Locum Tenens, in what form soever established;) so that the King cannot by any[1] commission of regency, by any commission or charter of government, separate or withdraw the supreme command of the military from the office of supreme civil magistrate; either by reserving this command in his own hands, to be exercised and executed independent of the civil power; or by granting a distinct commission to any military commander in chief, so to be exercised and executed; but more especially not within such jurisdictions where such supreme military power (so far as the constitution knows and will justify the same) is *already* annexed and granted to the office of supreme civil magistrate. And hence it is, that the King cannot erect

[1] 'If the King was to absent himself for a time from the realm, and did as usual leave a regency in his place, (his locum tenens as supreme civil magistrate;) could he authorise and commission any military commander in chief, to command the militia forts and forces, *independent of such regency?*' Could he do this in the colonies and plantations, where the governor is already, by commission or charter, or both under the great seal, military commander in chief; as part of (and inseparably annexed to) the office of supreme civil magistrate, his Majesty's locum tenens within said jurisdictions? If he could; then, while openly, by patent according to law, he appeared to establish a free British constitution, he might by a fallacy establish a military power and government.

or establish any law martial or military command, by any commission which may supersede and not be subject to the supreme civil magistrate, within the respective precincts of the civil jurisdictions of said colonies and plantations; otherwise than in such manner as the said law martial and military commissions are annexed or subject to the supreme civil jurisdiction within his Majesty's realms and dominions of Great Britain and Ireland; and hence it is, that the establishment and exercise of such commands and commissions would be illegal.[1]

Rem. The King has *the command* of all military force in his dominions: but in every distinct state of his dominions there should be the consent of the parliament or assembly, (the representative body) to *the raising and keeping up* such military force. He cannot even raise troops and quarter them in another, without the consent of that other. He cannot *of right* bring troops raised in Ireland and quarter them in Britain, but with the

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[1] Governor P. accompanied this paper to Dr. F. with a sort of prophetic remark. After stating that these theorems, and their application to existing cases, were intended to remedy the prejudice, indigestion, indecision, and errors then prevailing either in opinions or conduct; he adds, "The very attention to the investigation may lead to the discovery of *some truths respecting the whole British empire*, then little thought of, and scarce even suspected; and which perhaps it would not be *prudent* at this time to mark and point out." The minister, however, judged the *discussion* of *dubious* rights over growing states, a better policy than possession, discretion, and silence: he turned civilian, and lost an empire. B. V.

consent of the parliament of Britain: nor carry to Ireland, and quarter there, soldiers raised in Britain, without the consent of the Irish parliament; unless in time of war and cases of extreme exigency. In 1756, when the speaker went up to present the money-bills, he said, among other things, that "England was capable of fighting her own battles and defending herself; and although ever attached to your Majesty's person, ever at ease under your just government; they cannot forbear taking notice of some circumstances in the present situation of affairs, which nothing but the confidence in your justice, could hinder from alarming their most serious apprehensions. Subsidies to foreign princes, when already burthened with a debt scarce to be borne, cannot but be severely felt. *An army of* FOREIGN TROOPS, *a thing unprecedented, unheard of, unknown* BROUGHT INTO ENGLAND, cannot but alarm," &c. &c. (See the Speech.)

N. B. These FOREIGN TROOPS were part of the King's subjects, Hanoverians, and all in *his* service; which the same thing as * * B. F.

Preface by the British Editor [Dr. Franklin] to "The Votes and Proceedings of the Freeholders, and other Inhabitants of the town of Boston, in town-meeting assembled, according to law, (published by order of the town,) &c."[1]

[*See Memoirs of the Life, Part III.*]

ALL accounts of the discontent so general in our colonies, have of late years been industriously

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[1] "Boston, printed: London, reprinted, and sold by J. Wilkie, in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1773."

It is said, that this little piece very much irritated the ministry. It was their determination, that the Americans should re-

smothered and concealed here; it seeming to suit the views of the American minister[1] to have it understood, that by his great abilities, all faction was subdued, all opposition suppressed, and the whole country quieted. That the true state of affairs there may be known, and the true causes of that discontent well understood; the following piece (not the production of a private writer, but the unanimous act of a large American city), lately printed in New England, is republished here. This nation, and the other nations of Europe, may thereby learn, with more certainty, the grounds of a dissension, that possibly may, sooner or later, have consequences interesting to them all.

The colonies had, from their first settlement,

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ceive teas only from Great Britain. And accordingly the East India Company sent out large cargoes under their protection. The colonists everywhere refused, either entrance, or else permission of sale, except at Boston, where, the force of government preventing more moderate measures, certain persons in disguise threw it into the sea.

The preamble of the stamp act produced the tea act; the tea act produced violence; violence, acts of parliament; acts of parliament, a revolt. "A little neglect," says *poor Richard*, "may breed great mischief: for want of a nail the shoe was lost; for want of a shoe the horse was lost; for want of a horse the rider was lost; being overtaken and slain by the enemy; all for want of a little care about a horse-shoe nail." B. V.

[1] Lord Hillsborough.—This nobleman, already first Lord of trade, was introduced in 1768 into the *new-titled office* of Secretary of State for the Colonies." B. V.

been governed with more ease, than perhaps can be equalled by any instance in history of dominions so distant. Their affection and respect for this country, while they were treated with kindness, produced an almost implicit obedience to the instructions of the Prince, and even to acts of the British parliament; though the right of binding them by a legislature, in which they were unrepresented, was never clearly understood. That respect and affection produced a partiality in favor of every thing that was English; whence their preference of English modes and manufactures; their submission to restraints on the importation of foreign goods, which they had but little desire to use; and the monopoly we so long enjoyed of their commerce, to the great enriching of our merchants and artificers. The mistaken policy of the stamp act first disturbed this happy situation; but the flame thereby raised was soon extinguished by its repeal, and the old harmony restored, with all its concomitant advantage to our commerce. The subsequent act of another administration, which, not content with an established exclusion of foreign manufactures, began to make our own merchandise dearer to the consumers there, by heavy duties; revived it again: and combinations were entered into throughout the continent, to stop trading with Britain till those duties should be repealed. All were accordingly repealed but one—*the duty on tea.* This was reserved (professedly so) as a

standing claim and exercise of the right assumed by parliament of laying such duties.[1]. The colonies, on this repeal, retracted their agreement, so far as related to all other goods, except that on which the duty was retained. This was trumpeted here by the minister for the colonies as a triumph; there it was considered only as a decent and equitable measure, showing a willingness to meet the mother-country in every advance towards a reconciliation, and a disposition to a good understanding so prevalent, that possibly they might soon have relaxed in the article of tea also. But the system of commissioners of customs, officers without end, with fleets and armies for collecting and enforcing those duties, being continued; and these acting with much indiscretion and rashness, (giving great and unnecessary trouble and obstruction to business, commencing unjust and vexatious suits, and harassing commerce in all its branches, while that the minister kept the people in a constant state of irritation by instructions which appeared to have no other end than the gratifying

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[1] Mr. Burke says (in his speech in 1774,) that this preambulary tax had lost us at once the benefit of the west and of the east; had thrown open folding-doors to contraband; and would be the means of giving the profits of the colony-trade to every nation but ourselves. He adds, in the same place, "It is indeed a tax of sophistry, a tax of pedantry, a tax of disputation, a tax of war and rebellion, a tax for any thing but benefit to the imposers, or satisfaction to the subject." B. V.

his private resentments,[1]) occasioned a persevering adherence to their resolutions in that particular: and the event should be a lesson to ministers, not to risk through pique, the obstructing any one branch of trade; since the course and connection of general business may be thereby disturbed to a degree, impossible to be foreseen or imagined. For it appears that the colonies, finding their humble petitions to have this duty repealed, were rejected and treated with contempt; and that the produce of the duty was applied to the rewarding, with undeserved salaries and pensions, every one of their enemies; the duty itself became more odious, and their resolution to share it more vigorous and obstinate. The Dutch, the Danes, and French, took this opportunity thus offered them by our imprudence, and began to smuggle their teas into the plantations. At first this was something difficult; but at length, as all business is improved by practice, it became easy. A coast fifteen hundred miles in length could not in all parts be guarded, even by the whole navy of England; especially where their restraining authority was by all the inhabitants deemed unconstitutional, the smuggling of course considered as patriotism. The needy wretches, too, who, with small salaries, were trusted to watch the ports day and night, in

[1] Some of his circular letters had been criticised, and exposed by one or two of the American assemblies.

all weathers, found it easier and more profitable, not only to wink, but to sleep in their beds; the merchant's pay being more generous than the king's. Other India goods, also, which, by themselves, would not have made a smuggling voyage sufficiently profitable, accompanied tea to advantage; and it is feared the cheap French silks, formerly rejected as not to the taste of the colonies, may have found their way with the wares of India; and now established themselves in the popular use and opinion.

It is supposed that at least a million of Americans drink tea twice a day, which, at the first cost here, can scarce be reckoned at less than half a guinea a head per annum. This market, that in the five years which have run on since the act passed, would have paid 2,500,000 guineas for tea alone, into the coffers of the Company, we have wantonly lost to foreigners.—Meanwhile it is said the duties have so diminished, that the whole remittance of the last year amounted to no more than the pitiful sum of 85*l.*[1] for the expense of some hundred thousands, in armed ships and soldiers, to support the officers. Hence the tea, and other India goods, which might have been sold in Ame-

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[1] "*Eighty-five pounds*, I am assured, my lords, is the whole equivalent we have received for all the hatred and mischief, and all the infinite losses this kingdom has suffered during that year, in her disputes with North America." See the Bishop of St. Asaph's speech, *intended to have been spoken*.

rica, remain rotting in the Company's warehouses;[1] while those of foreign ports are known to be cleared by the American demand. Hence, in some degree, the Company's inability to pay their bills; the sinking of their stock, by which millions of property have been annihilated; the lowering of their dividend, whereby so many must be distressed; the loss to government of the stipulated 400,000*l.* a year,[2] which must make a proportionable reduction in our savings towards the discharge of our enormous debt: and hence, in part, the severe blow suffered by credit in general,[3] to the ruin of many families; the stagnation of business in Spitalfields and at Manchester, through want of vent for their goods;—with other future evils, which, as they cannot, from the numerous and secret connections in general commerce, easily be foreseen, can hardly be avoided.

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[1] At this time they contained many millions of pounds of tea, including the usual stock on hand. Mr. Burke, in his speech in 1774, supposes that America might have given a vent for ten millions of pounds. This seems to have been the greater part of the whole quantity. B. V.

[2] On account of a temporary compromise of certain disputes with government. B. V.

[3] Seen in certain memorable mercantile failures in the year 1772. B. V.

RULES FOR REDUCING A GREAT EMPIRE TO A SMALL ONE; PRESENTED TO A LATE MINISTER, WHEN HE ENTERED UPON HIS ADMINISTRATION.[1]

Referred to Part II. of *Private Correspondence*, Letter to Governor Franklin, Oct. 6, 1773.

An ancient sage valued himself upon this, that though he could not fiddle, he knew how to make a great city of a little one. The science that I, a modern simpleton, am about to communicate, is the very reverse.

I address myself to all ministers who have the management of extensive dominions, which from their very greatness have become troublesome to govern—because the multiplicity of their affairs leaves no time for fiddling.

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[1] These rules first appeared in a London newspaper, about the beginning of the year 1774, and have several times since been introduced into our public prints.—The minister alluded to is supposed to be the Earl of Hillsborough.

"The causes and motions of seditions (says Lord Bacon) are, innovation in religion, taxes, alteration of laws and customs, breaking of privileges, general oppression, advancement of unworthy persons, strangers, dearths, disbanded soldiers, factions grown desperate, and whatsoever in offending people joineth and knitteth them in a common cause." B. V.

1. In the first place, gentlemen, you are to consider, that a great empire, like a great cake, is most easily diminished at the edges. Turn your attention therefore first to your *remotest* provinces; that, as you get rid of them, the next may follow in order.

2. That the possibility of this separation may always exist, take special care the provinces are *never incorporated with the mother-country;* that they do not enjoy the same common rights, the same privileges in commerce; and that they are governed by severer laws, all of your enacting, without allowing them any share in the choice of the legislators. By carefully making and preserving such distinctions, you will (to keep to my simile of the cake) act like a wise gingerbread baker; who, to facilitate a division, cuts his dough half through in those places where, when baked, he would have it broken to pieces.

3. Those remote provinces have perhaps been acquired, purchased, or conquered, at the sole expense of the settlers or their ancestors; without the aid of the mother-country. If this should happen to increase her strength, by their growing numbers, ready to join in her wars; her commerce, by their growing demand for her manufactures; or her naval power, by greater employment for her ships and seamen, they may probably suppose some merit in this, and that it entitles them to

some favor: you are therefore to *forget it all, or resent it* as if they had done you injury. If they happen to be zealous whigs, friends of liberty, nurtured in revolution principles; remember all that to their prejudice, and contrive to punish it: for such principles, after a revolution is thoroughly established, are of no more use; they are even odious and abominable.

4. However peaceably your colonies have submitted to your government, shown their affection to your interests, and patiently borne their grievances; you are to suppose them *always inclined to revolt*, and treat them accordingly. Quarter troops among them, who by their insolence may provoke the rising of mobs, and by their bullets and bayonets suppress them. By this means, like the husband who uses his wife ill from suspicion, you may in time convert your suspicions into realities.

5. Remote provinces must have governors and judges, to represent the royal person, and execute everywhere the delegated parts of his office and authority. You ministers know that much of the strength of government depends on the opinion of the people; and much of that opinion on the *choice of rulers* placed immediately over them. If you send them wise and good men for governors, who study the interest of the colonists, and advance their prosperity; they will think their king wise and good, and that he wishes the welfare of

his subjects. If you send them learned and upright men for judges, they will think him a lover of justice. This may attach your provinces more to his government. You are therefore to be careful who you recommend for those offices. If you can find prodigals who have ruined their fortunes, broken gamesters or stockjobbers; these may do well as governors; for they will probably be rapacious, and provoke the people by their extortions. Wrangling proctors and pettifogging lawyers too, are not amiss; for they will be for ever disputing and quarrelling with their little parliaments. If withal they should be ignorant, wrong-headed and insolent, so much the better. Attorneys' clerks and Newgate solicitors will do for chief-justices, especially if they hold their places during your pleasure:—and all will contribute to impress those ideas of your government that are proper for a people you would wish to renounce it.

6. To confirm these impressions, and strike them deeper, whenever the injured come to the capital with complaints of mal-administration, oppression, or injustice; *punish such suitors* with long delay, enormous expense, and a final judgment in favor of the oppressor. This will have an admirable effect every way. The trouble of future complaints will be prevented, and governors and judges will be encouraged to farther acts of op-

pression and injustice; and thence the people may become more disaffected, and at length desperate.

7. When such governors have crammed their coffers, and made themselves so odious to the people that they can no longer remain among them with safety to their persons, *recal and reward* them with pensions. You may make them baronets too, if that respectable order should not think fit to resent it. All will contribute to encourage new governors in the same practice; and make the supreme government detestable.

8. If, when you are engaged in war, your colonies should vie in liberal aids of men and money against the common enemy, upon your simple requisition, and give far beyond their abilities—reflect that a penny taken from them by your power, is more honorable to you than a pound presented by their benevolence; *despise therefore their voluntary grants*, and resolve to harass them with *novel taxes*. They will probably complain to your parliament that they are taxed by a body in which they have no representative, and that this is contrary to common right. They will petition for redress. Let the parliament flout their claims, reject their petitions, refuse even to suffer the reading of them, and treat the petitioners with the utmost contempt. Nothing can have a better effect in producing the alienation proposed; for though

many can forgive injuries, none ever forgave contempt.

9. In laying these taxes, *never regard the heavy burthens* those remote people already undergo; in defending their own frontiers, supporting their own provincial government, making new roads, building bridges, churches, and other public edifices; which in old countries have been done to your hands, by your ancestors; but which occasion constant calls and demands on the purses of a new people. Forget the restraint you lay on their trade for your own benefit, and the advantage a monopoly of this trade gives your exacting merchants. Think nothing of the wealth those merchants and your manufacturers acquire by the colony commerce; their increased ability thereby to pay taxes at home; their accumulating in the price of their commodities, most of those taxes, and so levying them from their consuming customers: all this, and the employment and support of thousands of your poor by the colonists, you are entirely to forget. But remember to make your arbitrary tax more grievous to your provinces, by public declarations importing that your power of taxing them has *no limits*; so that when you take from them without their consent a shilling in the pound, you have a clear right to the other nineteen. This will probably weaken every idea of security in their property, and convince them, that under such a

government they have nothing they can call their own; which can scarce fail of producing the happiest consequences!

10. Possibly indeed some of them might still comfort themselves, and say, "Though we have no property, we have yet something left that is valuable; we have constitutional *liberty both of person and of conscience* This king, these lords, and these commons, who it seems are too remote from us to know us, and feel for us, cannot take from us our Habeas Corpus right, or our right of trial by a jury of our neighbors: they cannot deprive us of the exercise of our religion, alter our ecclesiastical constitution, and compel us to be Papists, if they please, or Mahometans." To annihilate this comfort, begin by laws to perplex their commerce with infinite regulations, impossible to be remembered and observed: ordain seizures of their property for every failure; take away the trial of such property by jury, and give it to arbitrary judges of your own appointing, and of the lowest characters in the country, whose salaries and emoluments are to arise out of the duties or condemnations, and whose appointments are during pleasure. Then let there be a formal declaration of both houses, that opposition to your edicts is treason, and that persons suspected of treason in the provinces may, according to some obsolete law, be seized and sent to the metropolis of the

empire for trial; and pass an act, that those there charged with certain other offences, shall be sent away in chains from their friends and country to be tried in the same manner for felony. Then erect a new court of inquisition among them, accompanied by an armed force, with instructions to transport all such suspected persons; to be ruined by the expense, if they bring over evidences to prove their innocence; or be found guilty and hanged, if they cannot afford it. And lest the people should think you cannot possibly go any farther, pass another solemn declaratory act, "that king, lords, commons, had, have, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the unrepresented provinces *in all cases whatsoever*." This will include spiritual with temporal, and, taken together, must operate wonderfully to your purpose; by convincing them, that they are at present under a power something like that spoken of in the Scriptures, which can not only kill their bodies, but damn their souls to all eternity, by compelling them, if it pleases, to worship the devil.

11. To make your taxes more odious, and more likely to procure resistance, send from the capital a *board of officers* to superintend the collection, *composed of the most indiscreet*, ill-bred, and insolent you can find. Let these have large salaries out of

the extorted revenue, and live in open, grating luxury upon the sweat and blood of the industrious; whom they are to worry continually with groundless and expensive prosecutions before the above-mentioned arbitrary revenue-judges; all at the cost of the party prosecuted, though acquitted, because the king is to pay no costs. Let these men, by your order, be exempted from all the common taxes and burthens of the province, though they and their property are protected by its laws. If any revenue officers are suspected of the least tenderness for the people, discard them. If others are justly complained of, protect and reward them. If any of the under officers behave so as to provoke the people to drub them, promote those to better offices; this will encourage others to procure for themselves such profitable drubbings, by multiplying and enlarging such provocations, and all will work towards the end you aim at.

12. Another way to make your tax odious, is to *misapply the produce of it.* If it was originally appropriated for the defence of the provinces, and the better support of government, and the administration of justice where it may be necessary; then apply none of it to that defence; but bestow it where it is not necessary, in augmenting salaries or pensions to every governor who has distinguished himself by his enmity to the people, and by calumniating them to their sovereign. This

will make them pay it more unwillingly, and be more apt to quarrel with those that collect it and those that imposed it; who will quarrel again with them; and all shall contribute to your own purpose, of making them weary of your government.

13. If the people of any province have been accustomed to *support their own governors and judges* to satisfaction, you are to apprehend that such governors and judges may be thereby influenced to treat the people kindly, and to do them justice. This is another reason for applying part of that revenue in larger salaries to such governors and judges, given, as their commissions are, during *your* pleasure only; forbidding them to take any salaries from their provinces; that thus the people may no longer hope any kindness from their governors, or (in crown cases) any justice from their judges.—And as the money thus misapplied in one province is extorted from all, probably all will resent the misapplication.

14. If the parliaments of your provinces should dare to claim rights, or complain of your administration; order them to be harassed with *repeated dissolutions.*—If the same men are continually returned by new elections; adjourn their meetings to some country village, where they cannot be accommodated, and there keep them during pleasure; for this, you know, is your prerogative; and an excellent one it is, as you may manage it

to promote discontents among the people, diminish their respect, and increase their disaffection.

15. Convert the brave honest officers of your *navy* into pimping tide-waiters and colony officers of the *customs*. Let those who in time of war fought gallantly in defence of the commerce of their countrymen, in peace be taught to prey upon it. Let them learn to be corrupted by great and real smugglers; but (to show their diligence) scour with armed boats every bay, harbor, river, creek, cove, or nook throughout the coast of your colonies; stop and detain every coaster, every woodboat, every fisherman; tumble their cargoes and even their ballast inside out, and upside down; and if a pennyworth of pins is found unentered, let the whole be seized and confiscated. Thus shall the trade of your colonists suffer more from their friends in time of peace, than it did from their enemies in war.—Then let these boats' crews land upon every farm in their way, rob their orchards, steal their pigs and poultry, and insult the inhabitants. If the injured and exasperated farmers, unable to procure other justice, should attack the aggressors, drub them, and burn their boats; you are to call this *high treason and rebellion*, order fleets and armies into their country, and threaten to carry all the offenders three thousand miles to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.—O! this will work admirably!

16. If you are told of *discontents* in your colo-

nies, never believe that they are general, or that you have given occasion for them; therefore do not think of applying any remedy, or of changing any offensive measure.—Redress no grievance, lest they should be encouraged to demand the redress of some other grievance. Grant no request that is just and reasonable, lest they should make another that is unreasonable.—Take all your informations of the state of the colonies from your governors and officers in enmity with them. Encourage and reward these leasing-makers; secrete their lying accusations, lest they should be confuted; but act upon them as the clearest evidence;—And believe nothing you hear from the friends of the people. Suppose all *their* complaints to be invented and promoted by a few factious demagogues, whom, if you could catch and hang, all would be quiet.—Catch and hang a few of them accordingly; and the blood of the martyrs shall work miracles in favor of your purpose.[1]

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[1] One of the American writers affirms, "That there has not been a single instance in which *they* have complained, without being rebuked; or in which they have been complained *against*, without being punished."—A fundamental mistake in the minister occasioned this. Every individual in New England (the peccant country) was held a coward or a knave, and the disorders which spread abroad there, were treated as the result of the *too great lenity* of Britain! By the aid of this short and benevolent rule, judgment was ever wisely predetermined; to the shutting out redress on the one hand, and enforcing every rigor of punishment on the other. B. V.

17. If you see *rival nations* rejoicing at the prospect of your disunion with your provinces, and endeavoring to promote it; if they translate, publish and applaud all the complaints of your discontented colonists, at the same time privately stimulating you to severer measures; let not that alarm or offend you; Why should it? since you all mean the same thing.

18. If any colony should *at their own charge erect a fortress* to secure their *port* against the fleets of a foreign enemy, get your governor to betray that fortress into your hands. Never think of paying what it cost the country, for that would look, at least, like some regard for justice; but turn it into a citadel, to awe the inhabitants and curb their commerce. If they should have lodged in such fortress the very arms they bought and used to aid you in your conquests, seize them all; it will provoke like ingratitude added to robbery. —One admirable effect of these operations will be, to discourage every other colony from erecting such defences, and so their and your enemies may more easily invade them; to the great disgrace of your government, and of course the furtherance of your project.

19. Send armies into their country under pretence of protecting the inhabitants; but, instead of garrisoning the forts on their frontiers with those troops, to prevent incursions, demolish those forts; and order the troops into the heart of the country,

that the savages may be encouraged to attack the frontiers,[1] and that the troops may be protected by the inhabitants: this will seem to proceed from your *ill-will or your ignorance,* and contribute farther to produce and strengthen an opinion among them, that you are no longer fit to govern them.[2]

20. Lastly, invest the *general of your army in the provinces,* with great and unconstitutional powers, and free him from the control of even your own civil governors. Let him have troops enow

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[1] I am not versed in Indian affairs, but I find that in April 1773, the assembled chiefs of the western nations told one of our Indian agents, 'that they remembered their father, the king of Great Britain's message, delivered to them last fall; of demolishing Fort Pittsburg [on the Ohio] and removing the soldiers with their sharp-edged weapons out of the country;— this gave them great pleasure, as it was a strong proof of his paternal kindness towards them.' (See *Considerations on the Agreement with Mr. T. Walpole for Lands upon the Ohio,* p. 9.) This is general history: I attempt no application of facts, personally invidious. B. V.

[2] As the reader may be inclined to divide his belief between the wisdom of ministry, and the candor and veracity of Dr. Franklin, I shall inform him that two contrary objections may be made to the truth of this representation. The first is, that the conduct of Great Britain is made *too* absurd for possibility; and the second, that it is not made absurd *enough* for fact. If we consider that this writing does not include the measures subsequent to 1773, the latter difficulty is easily set aside. The former, I can only solve by the many instances in history, where the infatuation of individuals has brought the heaviest calamities upon nations. B. V.

under his command, with all the fortresses in his possession; and who knows but (like some provincial generals in the Roman empire, and encouraged by the universal discontent you have produced) he may take it into his head to set up for himself? If he should, and you have carefully practised these few excellent rules of mine, take my word for it, all the provinces will immediately join him;—and you will that day (if you have not done it sooner) get rid of the trouble of governing them, and all the plagues attending their commerce and connection, from thenceforth and for ever.

PAPER

Written in England by Benjamin Franklin, to discourage the intended act for preventing emigration.

TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

SIR,

YOU give us in your paper of Tuesday the 16th of November, what is called "the Plan of an Act to be proposed at the next meeting of Parliament to prevent the Emigration of our People." I know not from what authority it comes, but as it is very circumstantial, I suppose some such plan may be really under consideration, and that this is thrown out to feel the pulse of the public. I shall therefore, with your leave, give my sentiments of it in your paper.

During a century and half that Englishmen have been at liberty to remove if they pleased to America, we have heard of no law to restrain that liberty, and confine them as prisoners in this island. Nor do we perceive any ill effects produced by their emigration. Our estates, far from diminishing in value through a want of tenants, have been in that period more than doubled; the lands in general are better cultivated; their increased produce finds a ready sale at an advanced price, and the complaint has for some time been, not that we want mouths to consume our meat, but that we want meat for our number of mouths.

Why then is such a restraining law *now* thought necessary? A paragraph in the same paper from the *Edinburgh Courant*, may perhaps throw some light upon this question. We are there told, "that 1500 people have emigrated to America from the shire of Sutherland within these two years, and carried with them 7,500*l.* sterling; which exceeds a year's rent of the whole county; that the single consideration of the *misery* which most of these people *must suffer* in America, independent of the loss of men and money to the mother-country, should engage the attention not only of the *landed interest, but of administration.*" The humane writer of this paragraph may, I fancy, console himself with the reflection, that perhaps the apprehended future sufferings of those emigrants will never exist; for that it was probably the authentic accounts

they had received from friends already settled there, of the felicity to be enjoyed in that country, with a thorough knowledge of their own misery at home, which induced their removal. And, as a politician, he may be comforted by assuring himself, that if they really meet with greater misery in America, their future letters lamenting it, will be more credited than the *Edinburgh Courant*, and effectually, without a law put a stop to the emigration. It seems some of the Scottish chiefs, who delight no longer to live upon their estates in the honorable independence they were born to, among their respecting tenants, but choose rather a life of luxury, though among the dependants of a court, have lately raised their rents most grievously to support the expense. The consuming of those rents in London, though equally prejudicial to the poor county of Sutherland, no Edinburgh newspaper complains of; but now, that the oppressed tenants take flight, and carry with them what might have supported the landlord's London magnificence, he begins to *feel* for the MOTHER-COUNTRY, and its enormous *loss* of 7,500*l.* carried to her colonies! Administration is called upon to remedy the evil, by another abridgment of ENGLISH LIBERTY. And surely administration should do something for these gentry, as they do any thing for administration.

But is there not an easier remedy? Let them return to their family seats, live among their peo-

ple, and, instead of fleecing and skinning, patronise and cherish them; promote their interest, encourage their industry, and make their situation comfortable. If the poor folks are happier at home than they can be abroad, they will not lightly be prevailed with to cross the ocean. But can their lord blame them for leaving home in search of better living, when he first set them the example?

I would consider the proposed law,

1st. As to the NECESSITY of it.

2dly. The PRACTICABILITY.

3dly. The POLICY, if practicable.

And, 4thly. The JUSTICE of it.

Pray spare me room for a few words on each of these heads.

1st. As to the NECESSITY of it.

If any country has more people than can be comfortably subsisted in it, some of those who are incommoded may be induced to emigrate. As long as the new situation shall be *far* preferable to the old, the emigration may possibly continue. But when many of those who at home interfered with others of the same rank, (in the competition for farms, shops, business, offices, and other means of subsistence) are gradually withdrawn, the inconvenience of that competition ceases; the number remaining no longer half starve each other; they find they can now subsist comfortably, and though perhaps not quite so well as those who

have left them, yet, the inbred attachment to a native country is sufficient to overbalance a moderate difference; and thus the emigration ceases naturally. The waters of the ocean may move in currents from one quarter of the globe to another, as they happen in some places to be accumulated, and in others diminished; but no law beyond the law of gravity, is necessary to prevent their abandoning any coast entirely. Thus the different degrees of happiness of different countries and situations, find, or rather make their level by the flowing of people from one to another, and where that level is once found, the removals cease. Add to this, that even a real deficiency of people in any country, occasioned by a wasting war or pestilence, is speedily supplied by earlier and more prolific marriages, encouraged by the greater facility of obtaining the means of subsistence. So that a country half depopulated would soon be repeopled, till the means of subsistence were equalled by the population. All increase beyond that point, must perish or flow off into more favorable situations. Such overflowings there have been of mankind in all ages, or we should not now have had so many nations. But to apprehend absolute depopulation from that cause, and call for a law to prevent it, is calling for a law to stop the Thames, lest its waters, by what leave it daily at Gravesend, should be quite exhausted. Such a law therefore I do not conceive to be NECESSARY.

2dly. As to the PRACTICABILITY.

When I consider the attempts of this kind that have been made, first in the time of Archbishop Laud, by orders of council, to stop the Puritans who were flying from his persecutions into New England, and next by Louis XIV. to retain in his kingdom the persecuted Huguenots; and how ineffectual all the power of our crown, with which the Archbishop armed himself, and all the more absolute power of that great French monarch, were, to obtain the end for which they were exerted: when I consider too, the extent of coast to be guarded, and the multitude of cruisers necessary effectually to make a prison of the island for this confinement of free Englishmen, who naturally love liberty, and would probably by the very restraint be more stimulated to break through it; I cannot but think such a law IMPRACTICABLE. The offices would not be applied to for licences, the ports would not be used for embarkation. And yet the people disposed to leave us, would, as the Puritans did, get away by shipfuls.

3dly. As to the POLICY of the Law.

Since I have shown there is no danger of depopulating Britain, but that the place of those that depart will soon be filled up equal to the means of obtaining a livelihood, let us see whether there are not some general *advantages* to be expected from the present emigration. The new settlers in Ame-

rica, finding plenty of subsistence, and land easily acquired whereon to seat their children, seldom postpone marriage through fear of poverty. Their natural increase is therefore in a proportion far beyond what it would have been if they had remained here. New farms are daily everywhere forming in those immense forests; new towns and villages rising; hence a growing demand for our merchandise, to the greater employment of our manufacturers and the enriching of our merchants. By this natural increase of people, the strength of the empire is increased; men are multiplied, out of whom new armies may be formed on occasion, or the old recruited. The long-extended sea coast too, of that vast country, the great maritime commerce of its ports with each other, its many navigable rivers and lakes, and its plentiful fisheries, breed multitudes of seamen, besides those created and supported by its voyages to Europe; a thriving nursery this, for the manning of our fleets in time of war, and maintaining our importance among foreign nations, by that navy which is also our best security against invasions from our enemies. An extension of empire by conquest of inhabited countries is not so easily obtained, it is not so easily secured; it alarms more the neighboring states; it is more subject to revolts, and more apt to occasion new wars. The increase of dominion by colonies proceeding from yourselves, and by the natural growth of your own people, cannot be complained

of by your neighbors as an injury; none have a right to be offended with it. Your new possessions are therefore more secure, they are more cheaply gained, they are attached to your nation by natural alliance and affection; and thus they afford an additional strength more certainly to be depended on, than any that can be acquired by a conquering power, though at an immense expense of blood and treasure. These, methinks, are national advantages that more than equiponderate with the inconveniencies suffered by a few Scotch or Irish landlords, who perhaps may find it necessary to abate a little of their present luxury, or of those advanced rents they now so unfeelingly demand. From these considerations, I think I may conclude that the restraining law proposed, would, if practicable, be IMPOLITIC.

4thly. As to the JUSTICE of it.

I apprehend that every Briton who is made unhappy at home, has a right to remove from any part of his king's dominions into those of any other prince, where he can be happier. If this should be denied me, at least it will be allowed that he has a right to remove into any other part of the same dominions. For by this right so many Scotchmen remove into England, easing their own country of its supernumeraries, and benefiting ours by their industry. And this is the case with those who go to America. Will not

these Scottish lairds be satisfied unless a law passes to pin down all tenants to the estate they are born on, *(adscripti glebæ)* to be bought and sold with it? God has given to the beasts of the forest, and to the birds of the air, a right, when their subsistence fails in one country, to migrate to another, where they can get a more comfortable living; and shall man be denied a privilege enjoyed by brutes, merely to gratify a few avaricious landlords? Must misery be made *permanent,* and suffered by *many* for the emolument of *one;* while the increase of human beings is prevented, and thousands of their offspring stifled as it were in the birth, that this petty Pharaoh may enjoy an *excess* of opulence? God commands to increase and replenish the earth; the proposed law would forbid increasing, and confine Britons to their present number, keeping half that number too in wretchedness. The common people of Britain and of Ireland contributed by the taxes they paid, and by the blood they lost, to the success of that war, which brought into our hands the vast unpeopled territories of North America; a country favored by heaven with all the advantages of climate and soil: Germans are now pouring into it, to take possession of it, and fill it with their posterity; and shall Britons and Irelanders, who have a much better right to it, be forbidden a share of it, and, instead of enjoying there the plenty and happiness that might reward their industry, be

compelled to remain here in poverty and misery? Considerations such as these persuade me, that the proposed law would be both UNJUST and INHUMAN.

If then it is *unnecessary, impracticable, impolitic,* and *unjust*, I hope our parliament will never receive the bill, but leave landlords to their own remedy, an abatement of rents, and frugality of living; and leave the liberties of Britons and Irishmen at least as extensive as it found them. I am, Sir, yours, &c. A FRIEND TO THE POOR.

FOR THE PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE.

ON SENDING FELONS TO AMERICA.

SIR,

WE may all remember the time when our mother-country, as a mark of her parental tenderness, emptied her gaols into our habitations, "*for the* BETTER *peopling*," as she expressed it, "*of the colonies.*" It is certain that no due returns have yet been made for these valuable consignments. We are therefore much in her debt on that account; and, as she is of late clamorous for the payment of all we owe her, and some of our debts are of a kind not so easily discharged, I am for doing however what is in our power. It will show our good-will as to the rest. The felons she planted among us have produced such an amazing

increase, that we are now enabled to make ample remittance in the same commodity. And since the wheelbarrow law is not found effectually to reform them, and many of our vessels are idle through her restraints on our trade, why should we not employ those vessels in transporting the felons to Britain?

I was led into this thought by perusing the copy of a petition to parliament, which fell lately by accident into my hands. It has no date, but I conjecture from some circumstances, that it must have been about the year 1767 or 1768. (It seems, if presented, it had no effect, since the act passed.) I imagine it may not be unacceptable to your readers, and therefore transcribe it for your paper; viz.

To the Honorable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled,

The PETITION of B. F. Agent for the Province of Pennsylvania;

Most humbly showeth;

That the transporting of felons from England to the plantations in America, is, and hath long been, a great grievance to the said plantations in general.

That the said felons being landed in America, not only continue their evil practices to the annoyance of his Majesty's good subjects there, but con-

tribute greatly to corrupt the morals of the servants and poorer people among whom they are mixed.

That many of the said felons escape from the servitude to which they were destined, into other colonies, where their condition is not known; and wandering at large from one populous town to another, commit many burglaries, robberies, and murders, to the great terror of the people; and occasioning heavy charges for apprehending and securing such felons, and bringing them to justice.

That your petitioner humbly conceives the easing one part of the British dominions of their felons by burthening another part with the same felons, cannot increase the common happiness of his Majesty's subjects, and that therefore the trouble and expense of transporting them, is upon the whole altogether useless.

That your petitioner, nevertheless, observes with extreme concern in the votes of Friday last, that leave is given to bring in a bill for extending to Scotland, the act made in the fourth year of the reign of King George the First, whereby the aforesaid grievances are, as he understands, to be greatly increased by allowing Scotland also to transport its felons to America.

Your petitioner therefore humbly prays, in behalf of Pennsylvania, and the other plantations in America, that the house would take the premises into consideration, and in their great wisdom and goodness repeal all acts, and clauses of acts, for

transporting of felons ; or if this may not at present be done, that they would at least reject the proposed bill for extending the said acts to Scotland ; or, if it be thought fit to allow of such extension, that then the said extension may be carried further, and the plantations be also, by an equitable clause in the same bill, permitted to transport their felons to Scotland.

And your petitioner, as in duty bound, shall pray, &c.

The petition, I am informed, was not received by the house, and the act passed.

On second thoughts, I am of opinion, that besides employing our own vessels, as above proposed, every English ship arriving in our ports with goods for sale, should be obliged to give bond, before she is permitted to trade, engaging that she will carry back to Britain at least one felon for every fifty tons of her burthen. Thus we shall not only discharge sooner our debts, but furnish our old friends with the means of "*better peopling*," and with more expedition, their promising new colony of Botany Bay.

I am yours, &c. A. Z.

VINDICATION AND OFFER FROM CONGRESS TO PARLIAMENT IN 1775.[1]

FORASMUCH as the enemies of America in the parliament of Great Britain, to render us odious to the nation, and give an ill impression of us in the minds of other European powers, have represented us as unjust and ungrateful in the highest degree;—asserting, on every occasion, that the colonies were settled at the expense of Britain;—that they were, at the expense of the same, protected in their infancy;—that they now ungratefully and unjustly refuse to contribute to their own protection, and the common defence of the nation;—that they aim at independence;—that they intend an abolition of the navigation acts;—and that they are fraudulent in their commercial dealings, and purpose to cheat ther creditors in Britain, by avoiding the payment of their just debts.

And as by frequent repetition these groundless assertions and malicious calumnies may, if not contradicted and refuted, obtain farther credit, and be injurious throughout Europe to the reputation and interest of the confederate colonies, it seems pro-

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[1] The above paper was drawn up in a committee of congress, June 25, 1775, but does not appear on their minutes; a severe act of parliament, which arrived about that time, having determined them not to give the sum proposed in it.—It was first printed in the Public Advertiser for July 18, 1777, No. 13,346. B. V.

per and necessary to examine them in our own just vindication.

With regard to the first, that the colonies were settled at the expense of Britain, it is a known fact, that none of the twelve united colonies were settled, or even discovered, at the expense of England. Henry the VIIth indeed granted a commission to Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, and his sons, to sail into the western seas for the discovery of new countries; but it was to be "*suis eorum propriis sumptibus et expensis*," at their *own* costs and charges.[1] They discovered, but soon slighted and neglected, these northern territories; which were, after more than a hundred years' dereliction, purchased of the natives, and settled at the charge and by the labor of private men and bodies of men, our ancestors, who came over hither for that purpose. But our adversaries have never been able to produce any record, that ever the parliament or government of England was at the smallest expense on these accounts; on the contrary, there exists on the journals of parliament, a solemn declaration in 1642, (only twenty-two years after the first settlement of the Massachusetts, when, if such expense had ever been incurred, some of the members must have known and remembered it,) "That these colonies had been planted and established *without any*

[1] See the Commission in the Appendix to Pownall's Administration of the Colonies. Edit. 1775.

expense to the state."[1] New York is the only colony in the founding of which England can pretend to have been at any expense; and that was only the charge of a small armament to take it from the Dutch, who planted it. But to retain this colony at the peace, another at that time full as valuable, planted by private countrymen of *ours*, was given up by the crown to the Dutch in exchange, viz. Surinam, now a wealthy sugar colony in Guiana, and which, but for that cession, might still have remained in our possession. Of late, indeed, Britain has been at some expense in planting two colonies, Georgia[2] and Nova Scotia; but those are not in our confederacy; and the expense she has been at in their name, has chiefly been in grants of sums unnecessarily large, by way of salaries to officers sent from England, and in jobs to friends, whereby dependants might be provided for; those excessive grants not being requisite to the welfare and good government of the colonies, which good government (as experience in many instances of other colonies has taught us) may be much more

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[1] "*Veneris, March* 10, 1642.—Whereas the plantations in New England have, by the blessing of the Almighty, had good and prosperous success, ***without any public charge to this state***; and are now likely to prove very happy for the propagation of the gospel in those parts, and very beneficial and commodious to this kingdom and nation:—the Commons now assembled in parliament, &c. &c. &c." [See Governor Hutchinson's History. B. V.]

[2] Georgia has since acceded, July, 1775.

frugally, and full as effectually, provided for and supported.

With regard to the second assertion, that these colonies were *protected* in their infant state by England,—it is a notorious fact, that in none of the many wars with the Indian natives, sustained by our infant settlements for a century after our first arrival, were ever any troops or forces of any kind sent from England to assist us; nor were any forts built at her expense, to secure our sea-ports from foreign invaders; nor any ships of war sent to protect our trade, till many years after our first settlement, when our commerce became an object of revenue, or of advantage to British merchants; and then it was thought necessary to have a frigate in some of our ports, during peace, to give weight to the authority of custom-house officers, who were to restrain that commerce for the benefit of England. Our own arms, with our poverty, and the care of a kind providence, were all this time our only protection; while we were neglected by the English government; which either thought us not worth its care, or having no good-will to some of us, on account of our different sentiments in religion and politics, was indifferent what became of us. On the other hand, the colonies have not been wanting to do what they could in every war for annoying the enemies of *Britain*. They formerly assisted her in the conquest of Nova Scotia. In the war before last they took Louisbourg, and put

it into her hands. She made her peace with that strong fortress, by restoring it to France, greatly to their detriment. In the last war, it is true, Britain sent a fleet and army, who acted with an equal army of ours, in the reduction of Canada; and perhaps thereby did more for us, than we in the preceding wars had done for her. Let it be remembered, however, that she rejected the plan we formed in the congress at Albany, in 1754, for our own defence, by an union of the colonies; an union she was jealous of, and therefore chose to send her own forces; otherwise her aid, to protect us, was not wanted. And from our first settlement to that time, her military operations in our favor were small, compared with the advantages she drew from her exclusive commerce with us. We are however willing to give full weight to this obligation; and as we are daily growing stronger, and our assistance to her becomes of more importance, we should with pleasure embrace the first opportunity of showing our gratitude by returning the favor in kind. But when Britain values herself as affording us protection, we desire it may be considered that we have followed *her* in all *her* wars, and joined with her at her own expense against all she thought fit to quarrel with. This she has required of us; and would never permit us to keep peace with any power she declared her enemy; though by separate treaties we might well have done it. Under such circumstances, when at

her instance we made nations our enemies, whom we might otherwise have retained our friends; we submit it to the common sense of mankind, whether her protection of us in these wars was not our *just due*, and to be claimed of *right*, instead of being received as a *favor?* And whether, when all the parts of an empire exert themselves to the utmost in their common defence, and in annoying the common enemy, it is not as well the *parts* that protect the *whole*, as the *whole* that protects the *parts?* The protection then has been proportionably mutual. And whenever the time shall come, that our abilities may as far exceed hers, as hers have exceeded ours, we hope we shall be reasonable enough to rest satisfied with her proportionable exertions, and not think we do too much for a part of the empire, when that part does as much as it can for the whole.

The charge against us, *that we refuse to* contribute *to our own protection*, appears from the above to be groundless: but we farther declare it to be absolutely false; for it is well known that we ever held it as our duty to grant aids to the crown upon requisition, towards carrying on its wars; which duty we have cheerfully complied with, to the utmost of our abilities; insomuch that frequent and grateful acknowledgments thereof, by king and parliament, appear on the records.[1] But as Bri-

[1] Supposed to allude to certain passages in the journals of the House of Commons on the 4th of April, 1748; 28th January,

tain has enjoyed a most gainful monopoly of our commerce; the same, with our maintaining the dignity of the king's representative in each colony, and all our own separate establishments of government, civil and military; has ever hitherto been deemed an equivalent for such aids as might otherwise be expected from us in time of peace—And we hereby declare, that on a reconciliation with Britain, we shall *not only* continue *to grant aids in time of war*, as aforesaid; but, whenever she shall think fit to abolish her monopoly, and give us the same privileges of trade as Scotland received at the union, and allow us a free commerce with all the rest of the world; we shall willingly agree (and we doubt not it will be ratified by our constituents) to *give and pay* into the sinking fund [100,000*l.*] sterling per annum for the term of one hundred years; which duly, faithfully, and inviolably applied to that purpose, is demonstrably more than sufficient to extinguish *all her present national* debt; since it will in that time amount, at legal British interest, to more than [230,000,000*l.*][1]

But if Britain does not think fit to accept this proposition, we, in order to remove her groundless jealousies, *that we aim at independence, and an aboli-*

1756; 3d February, 1756; 16th and 19th of May, 1757; 1st of June, 1758; 26th and 30th April, 1759; 26th and 31st of March and 28th April, 1760; 9th and 20th January, 1761; 22d and 26th January, 1762; and 14th and 17th March, 1763.

[1] See Dr. Price's *Appeal on the National Debt.*

tion of the navigation act, (which hath in truth never been our intention) and to avoid all future disputes about the right of making that and other acts for regulating our commerce; do hereby declare ourselves ready and willing to enter into a *covenant with Britain*, that she shall fully possess, enjoy, and exercise that right, for an hundred years to come; the same being *bona fide* used for the common benefit; and in case of such agreement, that every assembly be advised by us to confirm it solemnly by laws of their own, which, once made, cannot be repealed without the assent of the crown.

The last charge, *that we are dishonest traders, and aim at defrauding our creditors in Britain*, is sufficiently and authentically refuted by the solemn declarations of the British merchants to parliament, (both at the time of the stamp-act, and in the last session) who bore ample testimony to the general good faith and fair dealing of the Americans, and declared their confidence in our integrity; for which we refer to their petitions on the journals of the House of Commons. And we presume we may safely call on the body of the British tradesmen, who have had experience of both, to say, whether they have not received much more punctual payment from us than they generally have from the members of their own two houses of parliament.

On the whole of the above it appears, that the charge of *ingratitude* towards the mother-country,

brought with so much confidence against the colonies, is totally without foundation; and that there is much more reason for retorting that charge on Britain, who not only never contributes any aid, nor affords, by an exclusive commerce, any advantages to Saxony, *her* mother-country; but no longer since than in the last war, without the least provocation, subsidised the King of Prussia while he ravaged that *mother-country,* and carried fire and sword into its capital, the fine city of *Dresden!* An example we hope no provocation will induce us to imitate.

SECTION II.

AMERICAN POLITICS, SUBSEQUENT TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1776.

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN BRITAIN, FRANCE, SPAIN, HOLLAND, SAXONY, AND AMERICA.[1]

Britain. Sister of *Spain,* I have a favor to ask of you. My subjects in *America* are disobedient, and I am about to chastise them; I beg you will not furnish them with any arms or ammunition.

Spain. Have you forgotten, then, that when my subjects in the low countries rebelled against me, you not only furnished them with military stores, but joined them with an army and a fleet? I wonder how you can have the impudence to ask such a favor of me, or the folly to expect it!

Britain. You, my dear sister *France,* will surely not refuse me this favor.

France. Did you not assist my rebel Huguenots

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[1] A political squib, written by Dr. Franklin shortly after his arrival in France, as Commissioner Plenipotentiary from the United States of America.

with a fleet and an army at *Rochelle?* And have you not lately aided privately and sneakingly my rebel subjects in *Corsica?* And do you not at this instant keep their chief,—pensioned, and ready to head a fresh revolt there, whenever you can find or make an opportunity? Dear sister, you must be a little silly!

Britain. Honest Holland! You see it is remembered that I was once your friend, you will therefore be mine on this occasion. I know indeed you are accustomed to smuggle with these rebels of mine. I will wink at that; sell them as much tea as you please to enervate the rascals, since they will not take it of me; but for God's sake don't supply them with any arms!

Holland. 'Tis true you assisted me against *Philip*, my tyrant of *Spain*, but have I not since assisted you against one of your tyrants;[1] and enabled you to expel him? Surely that accompt, as we merchants say, is *balanced*, and I am nothing in your debt. I have indeed some complaints against *you*, for endeavoring to starve me by your *navigation acts;* but being peaceably disposed, I do not quarrel with you for that. I shall only go on quietly with my own business. Trade is my profession; 'tis all I have to subsist on. And let me tell you, I should make no scruple, (on the prospect of a

[1] James II.

good market for that commodity) even to send my ships to Hell and supply the devil with brimstone. For you must know, I can insure in London against the burning of my sails.

America to *Britain.* Why, you old blood-thirsty bully! you who have been everywhere vaunting your own prowess, and defaming the Americans as poltroons! you who have boasted of being able to march over all their bellies with a single regiment! you who by fraud have possessed yourself of their strongest fortress, and all the arms they had stored up in it! you who have a disciplined army in their country intrenched to the teeth, and provided with every thing! Do *you* run about begging all Europe not to supply those poor people with a little powder and shot? Do you mean, then, to fall upon them naked and unarmed, and butcher them in cold blood? Is this your courage? Is this your magnanimity?

Britain. Oh! you wicked—Whig—Presbyterian—Serpent! Have you the impudence to appear before me after all your disobedience? Surrender immediately all your liberties and properties into my hands, or I will cut you to pieces. Was it for this that I planted your country at so great an expense? that I protected you in your infancy, and defended you against all your enemies?

America. I shall not surrender my liberty and property but with my life. It is not true that my country was planted at your expense. Your own

records[1] refute that falsehood to your face. Nor did you ever afford me a man or a shilling to defend me against the Indians, the only enemies I had upon my own account. But when you have quarrelled with all Europe, and drawn me with you into all your broils, then you value yourself upon protecting me from the enemies you have made for me. I have no natural cause of difference with

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[1] See the Journals of the House of Commons, 1640, viz.

"*Die Veneris, Martii* 10, 1642.

"Whereas the plantations in New England have, by the blessing of Almighty God, had good and prosperous success, *without any public charge to this State;* and are now likely to prove very happy for the Propagation of the Gospel in those parts, and very beneficial and commodious to this kingdom and nation; the commons now assembled in parliament do, for the better advancement of those plantations, and the encouragement of the planters to proceed in their undertaking, ordain that all merchandises and goods that by any merchant, or other person or persons whatsoever, shall be exported out of this kingdom of England into New England, to be spent, used, or employed there; or being of the growth of that *kingdom,* shall be from thence imported hither, or shall be laden or put on board in any ship or vessel for necessaries in passing or returning to and fro; and all and every the owner or owners thereof, shall be freed and discharged of and from paying and yielding any custom, subsidy, taxation, imposition, or other duty for the same, either inward or outward, either in this kingdom or New England, or in any port, haven, creek, or other place whatsoever, until the House of Commons shall take further order therein to the contrary. And all and singular customers, &c. are to observe this order."

Spain, France, or Holland, and yet by turns I have joined with you in wars against them all. You would not suffer me to make or keep a separate peace with any of them, though I might easily have done it, to great advantage. Does your protecting me in those wars give you a right to fleece me? If so, as I fought for you, as well as you for me, it gives me a proportionable right to fleece you. What think you of an American law to make a monopoly of you and your commerce, as you have done by your laws of me and mine? Content yourself with that monoply if you are wise, and learn justice if you would be respected!

Britain. You impudent B——h! am not I your mother-country? Is not that a sufficient title to your respect and obedience?

Saxony. *Mother-country!* Hah, hah, hah! What respect have *you* the front to claim as a mother country? You know that *I* am *your* mother-country, and yet you pay me none. Nay, it is but the other day, that you hired[1] ruffians to rob me on the highway,[2] and burn my house![3] For shame! Hide your face and hold your tongue. If you continue this conduct you will make yourself the contempt of Europe!

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[1] Prussians.

[2] They entered and raised contributions in Saxony.

[3] And they burnt the fine suburbs of Dresden, the capital of Saxony.

Britain. O Lord! where are my friends?

France, Spain, Holland, and Saxony altogether. Friends! Believe us you have none, nor ever will have any till you mend your manners. How can we, who are your neighbors, have any regard for you, or expect any equity from you should your power increase, when we see how basely and unjustly you have used both your *own mother and your own children?*

COMPARISON OF GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA AS TO CREDIT, IN 1777.[1]

In borrowing money, a man's credit depends on some or all of the following particulars:

First. His known conduct respecting former loans, and his punctuality in discharging them.

Secondly. His industry.

Thirdly. His frugality.

Fourthly. The amount and the certainty of his income, and the freedom of his estate from the incumbrances of prior debts.

Fifthly. His well-founded prospects of greater future ability, by the improvement of his estate in value, and by aids from others.

[1] This paper was written, translated, printed, and circulated, while Dr. Franklin was at the court of Paris, for the purpose of inducing foreigners to lend money to America in preference to Great Britain.

Sixthly. His known prudence in managing his general affairs, and the advantage they will probably receive from the loan which he desires.

Seventhly. His known probity and honest character, manifested by his voluntary discharge of his debts, which he could not have been legally compelled to pay.—The circumstances which give credit to an *individual* ought to, and will have, their weight upon the lenders of money to *public bodies* or nations.—If then we consider and compare Britain and America, in these several particulars upon the question, " To which is it safest to lend money ?" we shall find,

1. Respecting *former loans;* that *America,* which borrowed ten millions during the last war for the maintenance of her army of 25,000 men, and other charges, had faithfully discharged and paid that debt, and all her other debts, in 1772.—Whereas *Britain,* during those ten years of peace and profitable commerce, had made little or no reduction of her debt; but on the contrary, from time to time, diminished the hopes of her creditors, by a wanton diversion and misapplication of the sinking fund destined for discharging it.

2. Respecting *industry;* every man (in *America*) is employed; the greater part in cultivating their own lands; the rest in handicrafts, navigation, and commerce. An idle man is a rarity; idleness and inutility are disgraceful.—In *England,* the number of that character is immense; fashion has spread it

far and wide; hence the embarrassments of private fortunes, and the daily bankruptcies arising from an universal fondness for appearance and expensive pleasures; and hence, in some degree, the mismanagements of public business; for habits of business and ability in it, are acquired only by practice; and where universal dissipation, and the perpetual pursuit of amusement, are the mode; the youth, educated in it, can rarely afterwards acquire that patient attention and close application to affairs, which are so necessary to a statesman charged with the care of national welfare. *Hence* their frequent errors in policy; and hence the weariness at public councils, and backwardness in going to them; the constant unwillingness to engage in any measure that requires thought and consideration; and the readiness for postponing every new proposition: which postponing is therefore the only part of the business that they come to be expert in, an expertness produced necessarily by so much daily practice. Whereas in *America*, men bred to close employment in their private affairs, attend with ease to those of the public, when engaged in them, and nothing fails through negligence.

3. Respecting *frugality;* the manner of living in *America* is more simple and less expensive than that in England: plain tables, plain clothing, and plain furniture in houses prevail, with few carriages of pleasure; there, an expensive appearance hurts

credit, and is avoided: in *England*, it is often assumed to gain credit, and continued to ruin.—Respecting *public* affairs, the difference is still greater. In *England*, the salaries of officers, and emoluments of office, are enormous. The king has a million sterling per annum, and yet cannot maintain his family free from debt: Secretaries of State, Lords of Treasury, Admiralty, &c. have vast appointments: an Auditor of the Exchequer has sixpence in the pound, or a fortieth part of all the public money expended by the nation; so that when a war costs forty millions, one million is paid to him. An Inspector of the Mint, in the last new coinage, received as his fee 65,000*l.* sterling per annum: to all which rewards, no service these gentlemen can render the public is by any means equivalent. All this is paid by the people; who are oppressed by taxes so occasioned; and thereby rendered less able to contribute to the payment of necessary national debts. In *America*, salaries, where indispensable, are extremely low; but much of the public business is done gratis. The honor of serving the public ably and faithfully, is deemed sufficient. *Public spirit* really exists there, and has great effects. In England, it is universally deemed a non-entity, and whoever pretends to it, is laughed at as a fool, or suspected as a knave. The committees of congress, which form the board of war, the board of treasury, the board of foreign affairs, the naval board, that for accounts, &c. all

attend the business of their respective functions, without any salary or emolument whatever; though they spend in it much more of their time than any Lord of Treasury or Admiralty in England can spare, from his amusements.—A British minister lately computed, that the whole expense of the Americans, in their *civil* government, over three millions of people, amounted to but 70,000*l.* sterling; and drew from thence a conclusion, that they ought to be taxed, until their expense was equal in proportion to that which it costs Britain to govern eight millions. He had no idea of a contrary conclusion; that if three millions may be well governed for 70,000*l.* eight millions may be as well governed for three times that sum; and that therefore the expense of his own government should be diminished.—In that corrupted nation, no man is ashamed of being concerned in lucrative *government jobs*, in which the public money is egregiously misapplied and squandered, the treasury pillaged, and more numerous and heavy taxes accumulated; to the great oppression of the people. But the prospect of a greater number of such jobs by a war is an inducement with many to cry out for war upon all occasions, and to oppose every proposition of peace. Hence the constant increase of the national debt, and the absolute improbability of its ever being discharged.

4. Respecting the *amount and certainty of income, and solidity of security*: the *whole* Thirteen States

of *America* are engaged for the payment of every debt contracted by the congress; and the debt to be contracted by the present war, is the *only* debt they will have to pay; all, or nearly all the former debts of particular colonies being already discharged. Whereas England will have to pay, not only the enormous debt this war must occasion, but all their vast preceding debt, or the interest of it; —and while America is enriching itself by prizes made upon the British commerce, more than it ever did by any commerce of its own, under the restraints of a British monopoly; Britain is growing poorer by the diminution of its revenues; and of course less able to discharge the present indiscreet increase of its expenses.

5. Respecting prospects of greater future ability, Britain has none such. Her islands are circumscribed by the ocean; and excepting a few parks or forests, she has no new land to cultivate, and cannot therefore extend her improvements. Her numbers, too, instead of increasing from increased subsistence, are continually diminishing from growing luxury, and the increasing difficulties of maintaining families, which of course discourages early marriages. Thus she will have fewer people to assist in paying her debts, and that diminished number will be poorer.—America, on the contrary, has, besides her lands already cultivated, a vast territory yet to be cultivated; which being cultivated continually increases in value with the in-

crease of people; and the people, who double themselves by a *natural propagation* every twenty-five years, will double yet faster, by the accession of *strangers*, as long as lands are to be had for new families; so that every twenty years, there will be a double number of inhabitants obliged to discharge the public debts; and those inhabitants being more opulent, may pay their shares with greater ease.

6. Respecting *prudence* in general affairs, and the advantages to be expected from the loan desired; the Americans are cultivators of land; those engaged in fishery and commerce are few, compared with the others. They have ever conducted their several governments with wisdom, avoiding wars, and vain expensive projects; delighting only in their peaceable occupations, which must, considering the extent of their uncultivated territory, find them employment still for ages. Whereas England, ever unquiet, ambitious, avaricious, imprudent, and quarrelsome, is half of the time engaged in war; always at an expense infinitely greater than the advantage to be obtained by it, if successful. Thus they made war against Spain in 1739, for a claim of about 95,000*l.* (scarce a groat for each individual of the nation) and spent forty millions sterling in the war, and the lives of fifty thousand men; and finally made peace without obtaining satisfaction for the sum claimed. Indeed, there is scarce a nation in Europe, against which

she has not made war on some frivolous pretext or other; and thereby imprudently accumulated a debt that has brought her on the verge of bankruptcy.—But the most indiscreet of all her wars, is the present against America; with which she might, for ages, have preserved her profitable connexion, only by a just and equitable conduct. She is now acting like a mad shopkeeper, who, by beating those who pass his doors, attempts to make them come in, and be his customers. America cannot submit to such treatment, without being first ruined; and being ruined, her custom will be worth nothing. England, to effect this, is increasing her debt, and irretrievably ruining herself.—America, on the other hand, aims only to establish her liberty, and that freedom of commerce which will be advantageous to all Europe; and by abolishing that monopoly which she labored under, she will profit infinitely more than enough, to repay any debt which she may contract to accomplish it.

7. Respecting *character in the honest payment of debts:* the punctuality with which America has discharged her public debts, was shown under the first head. And the general good disposition of the people to such punctuality, has been manifested in their faithful payment of *private* debts to England, since the commencement of this war.—There were not wanting some politicians [in America] who proposed *stopping that payment,* until

peace should be restored; alleging that in the usual course of commerce, and of the credit given, there was always a debt existing equal to the trade of eighteen months: that the trade amounting to five millions sterling per annum, the debt must be seven millions and a half; that this sum paid to the British merchants, would operate to prevent that distress, intended to be brought upon Britain, by our stoppage of commerce with her: for the merchants receiving this money, and no orders with it for farther supplies, would either lay it out in the public funds; or in employing manufacturers, to accumulate goods, for a future hungry market in America, upon an expected accommodation; by which means the funds would be kept up, and the manufacturers prevented from murmuring. But *against this it was alleged*, that injuries from ministers should not be revenged on merchants; that the credit was in consequence of private contracts, made in confidence of good faith; that those ought to be held sacred, and faithfully complied with; for that whatever public utility might be supposed to arise from a breach of private faith, it was unjust; and would in the end be found unwise; honesty being, in truth, the best policy. On this principle, the proposition was rejected; and though the English prosecuted the war with unexampled barbarity, burning our defenceless towns in the midst of winter, and arming savages against us; the debt was punctually paid;

and the merchants of London have testified to the parliament, and will testify to all the world, that from their experience in dealing with us, they had, before the war, no apprehension of our unfairness; and that since the war, they have been convinced that their good opinion of us was well founded.—England, on the contrary, an old, corrupt, extravagant, and profligate nation, sees herself deep in debt, which she is in no condition to pay; and yet is madly and dishonestly running deeper, without any possibility of discharging her debt, but by a public bankruptcy.

It appears, therefore, from the general industry, frugality, ability, prudence, and virtue of America, that she is a much safer debtor than Britain; to say nothing of the satisfaction generous minds must have in reflecting, that by loans to America, they are opposing tyranny, and aiding the cause of liberty, which is the cause of all mankind.

A CATECHISM RELATIVE TO THE ENGLISH NATIONAL DEBT.

QUESTION 1. Supposing this debt to be only 195 millions of pounds sterling at present,[1] although it is much more, and that was all to be counted in shillings, that a man could count at the rate of 100 shillings per minute, for 12 hours each

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[1] At present (1777) it is said to be at least 230 millions.

day, till he has counted the whole, how long would he take in doing it?

ANSWER. One hundred forty-eight years, one hundred nine days, and twenty-two hours.

Q. 2. The whole of this sum being 3,900 millions of shillings, and the coinage standard being sixty-two in the troy pound, what is the whole weight of this sum?

A. Sixty-one millions, seven hundred fifty-two thousand, four hundred and seventy-six troy pounds.

Q. 3. How many ships would carry this weight, suppose 100 tons each?

A. Three hundred and fourteen ships.

Q. 4. How many carts would carry this weight, suppose a ton in each?

A. Thirty-one thousand, four hundred and fifty-two carts.

Q. 5. The breadth of a shilling being one inch, if all these shillings were laid in a straight line, close to one another's edges, how long would that line be that would contain them?

A. Sixty-one thousand, five hundred fifty-two miles; which is 9,572 miles more than twice round the whole circumference of the earth.

Q. 6. Suppose the interest of this debt to be three and a half per cent. per annum, what does the whole annual interest amount to?

A. Six millions, seven hundred and seventy thousand pounds.

Q. 7. How doth government raise this interest annually?

A. By taxing those who lent the principal, and others.

Q. 8. When will government be able to pay the principal?

A. When there is more money in England's treasury than there is in all Europe.

Q. 9. And when will that be?

A. Never.

OF THE PAPER MONEY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

MUCH conversation having arisen lately on the subject of this money, and few persons being well acquainted with the nature of it, you may possibly oblige many of your readers, by the following account of it.

When Great Britain commenced the present war upon the colonies, they had neither arms nor ammunition, nor money to purchase them or to pay soldiers. The new government had not immediately the consistence necessary for collecting heavy taxes; nor would taxes that could be raised within the year during peace, have been sufficient for a year's expense in time of war: they therefore printed a quantity of paper bills, each expressing to be of the value of a certain number of Spanish dollars, from one to thirty: with these they paid,

clothed, and fed their troops, fitted out ships, and supported the war during five years against one of the most powerful nations of Europe.

The paper thus issued, passed current in all the internal commerce of the United States at par with silver during the first year; supplying the place of the gold and silver formerly current, but which was sent out of the country to purchase arms, &c. or to defray expenses of the army in Canada: but the great number of troops necessary to be kept on foot to defend a coast of near 500 leagues in length, from an enemy who being masters at sea could land troops where they pleased, occasioned such a demand for money, and such frequent additional emissions of new bills, that the quantity became much greater than was wanted for the purposes of commerce; and the commerce being diminished by the war, the surplus quantity of cash was by that means also proportionally augmented.

It has been long and often observed, that when the current money of a country is augmented beyond the occasions for money, as a medium of commerce, its value as money diminishes. Its interest is reduced, and the principal sinks, if some means are not found to take off the surplus quantity. Silver may be carried out of the country that produces it, into other countries, and thereby prevent too great a fall of its value in that country. But when by this means it grows more plentiful in

all other countries, nothing prevents its sinking in value. Thus within 300 years, since the discovery of America, and the vast quantities of gold and silver imported from thence, and spread over Europe and the rest of the world, those metals have sunk in value four-fifths, that is, five ounces of silver will not purchase more labor now than an ounce would have done before that discovery.

Had Spain been able to confine all that treasure within its own territories, silver would probably have been there of no more value by this time than iron, or lead. The exportation has kept its value on a level with its value in other parts of the world. Paper money not being easily received out of the country that makes it, if the quantity becomes excessive, the depreciation is quicker and greater.

Thus the excessive quantities which necessity obliged the Americans to issue for continuing the war, occasioned a depreciation of value, which commencing towards the end of 1776, has gone on augmenting, till at the beginning of the present year, 50, 60, and as far as 70 dollars in paper were reckoned not more than equal to one dollar in silver, and the prices of all things rose in proportion.

Before the depreciation commenced, the congress fearing it, stopt for a time the emission of new bills, and resolved to supply their occasions by borrowing. Those who lent them the paper money at that time and until March 1778, fixed their property and prevented its depreciation; the

interest being regularly paid by bills of exchange on France, which supports the value of the principal sums lent.

These loans not being sufficient, the congress were forced to print more bills, and depreciation proceeded. The congress would borrow no more on the former conditions of paying the interest in French money at Paris; but great sums were offered and lent them on the terms of being paid the interest, and repaid the principal in the same bills in America.

These loans in some degree lessened, but did not quite take away the necessity of new emissions, so that it at length arrived at the excessive difference between the value of paper and silver, that is above-mentioned.

To put an end to this evil, which destroyed all certainty in commerce, the congress first resolved to diminish the quantity gradually by taxes, which, though nominally vastly great, were really less heavy than they appeared to be, and were readily paid. By these taxes 15 millions of S. dollars, of the 200 millions extant, are to be brought in monthly and burnt. This operation will destroy the whole quantity, to wit, 200,000,000, in about 14 months. Thirty millions have already been so destroyed.

To prevent in the meantime the farther progress of the depreciation, and give some kind of determinate value to the paper, it was ordained that for

every sum of forty dollars payable by any person as tax, he might discharge himself by paying one dollar in silver. Whether this expedient will produce the effect intended or not, experience and time must discover.

The general effect of the depreciation among the inhabitants of the states has been this, that it has operated as a *gradual tax* upon them, their business has been done and paid for by the paper money, and every man has paid his share of the tax according to the time he retained any of the money in his hands, and to the depreciation within that time. Thus it has proved a tax on money, a kind of property very difficult to be taxed in any other mode; and it has fallen more equally than many other taxes, as those people paid most who being richest had most money passing through their hands.

With regard to the paper money or bills borrowed by the congress, it appears by the above account to be under two different descriptions.

First, the quantity of bills borrowed before the depreciation, the interest of which in silver was to be and is paid. The principal of this sum is considered as equal in value to so many dollars of silver as were borrowed in paper, and will be paid in silver accordingly.

Secondly, the quantities of bills borrowed in different stages of the depreciation down to the present time; these sums are, by a resolution of congress, to be repaid in silver according to the value they

were of in silver at the time they were lent; and the interest, is to be paid at the same rate. Thus those lenders have their property secured from the loss by depreciation subsequent to the time of their loan.

All the inhabitants are satisfied and pleased with this arrangement, their public debt being by this means reduced to a small sum. And the new paper money which bears interest, and for the payment of which solid funds are provided, is actually in credit equal to real silver.

If any persons living in distant countries have, through their absence from their property in America, suffered loss by not having it timely fixed in the several loans above-mentioned, it is not doubted but that upon an application to congress stating the case, they will meet with redress.

The real money used in the United States, is French, Spanish, Portuguese, and English coins, gold and silver. The most common is Spanish milled dollars, worth five livres five sols tournois.

The nominal money is generally paper, reckoned in pounds, shillings, and pence, of different value in the different states when compared with real money, and that value often changing, so that nothing certain can be said of it. Everywhere the accounts are kept in the nominal pounds, shillings, and pence, the pound containing twenty shillings, and the shilling twelve pence, whatever may be the real value.

Bills of exchange are frequently drawn on Europe; the rate of exchange differing in different states, and fluctuating in the same state, occasioned by the greater or less plenty of bills or of demand for others; they are commonly drawn at thirty days' sight.

The usages in buying and selling merchandises, are much the same as in Europe, except that in Virginia the planter carries his tobacco to magazines, where it is inspected by officers, who ascertain its quality and give receipts expressing the quantity. The merchants receive these receipts in payment for goods, and afterwards draw the tobacco out of the magazines for exportation. Weights and measures are uniform in all the states, following the standard of Great Britain.

Money is lent either upon bond, or on mortgage, payable in a year with interest. The interest differs in the different states from five to seven per cent.

Goods are generally imported on eighteen months' credit from Europe, sold in the country at twelve months' credit.

Billets or promissory notes payable to the creditor or order, are in use, and demandable when due, as well as accepted bills of exchange: without any days of grace, but by particular favor.

THE RETORT COURTEOUS.

"John Oxly, pawnbroker of Bethnal Green, was indicted for assaulting Jonathan Boldsworth on the highway, putting him in fear, and taking from him one silver watch, value *5l. 5s.* The prisoner pleaded, that having sold the watch to the prosecutor, and being immediately after informed by a person who knew him, that he was not likely to pay for the same, he had only followed him and taken the watch back again. But it appearing on the trial, that, presuming he had not been known when he committed the robbery, he had afterwards sued the prosecutor for the debt, on his note of hand; he was found guilty, *death.*" *Old Bailey Sessions Paper*, 1747.

I chose the above extract from the proceedings of the Old Bailey in the trial of criminals, as a motto or text, on which to amplify in my ensuing discourse. But on second thoughts, having given it forth, I shall, after the example of some other preachers, quit it for the present, and leave to my readers, if I should happen to have any, the task of discovering what relation there may possibly be between my text and my sermon.

During some years past, the British newspapers have been filled with reflections on the inhabitants of America, for *not paying their old debts to English*

merchants. And from these papers the same reflections have been translated into foreign prints, and circulated throughout Europe; whereby the American character, respecting honor, probity, and justice in commercial transactions, is made to suffer in the opinion of strangers, which may be attended with pernicious consequences.

At length we are told that the British court has taken up the complaint, and seriously offered it as a reason for refusing to evacuate the frontier posts according to treaty. This gives a kind of authority to the charge, and makes it now more necessary to examine the matter thoroughly; to inquire impartially into the conduct of both nations; take blame to ourselves where we have merited it; and, where it may be fairly done, mitigate the severity of the censures that are so liberally bestowed upon us.

We may begin by observing, that before the war our mercantile character was good. In proof of this (and a stronger proof can hardly be desired) the votes of the House of Commons in 1774-5, have recorded a petition signed by the body of the merchants of London trading to North America, in which they expressly set forth, not only that the trade was profitable to the kingdom, but that the remittances and payments were as punctually and faithfully made, as in any other branch of commerce whatever. These gentlemen were certainly

competent judges, and as to that point could have no interest in deceiving the government.

The making of these punctual remittances was however a difficulty. Britain, acting on the selfish and perhaps mistaken principle of receiving nothing from abroad that could be produced at home, would take no articles of our produce that interfered with any of her own; and what did not interfere she loaded with heavy duties. We had no mines of gold or silver. We were therefore obliged to run the world over, in search of something that would be received in England. We sent our provisions and lumber to the West Indies, where exchange was made for sugars, cotton, &c. to remit. We brought molasses from thence, distilled it into rum, with which we traded in Africa, and remitted the gold dust to England. We employed ourselves in the fisheries, and sent the fish we caught, together with quantities of wheat, flour, and rice, to Spain and Portugal, from whence the amount was remitted to England in cash or bills of exchange. Great quantities of our rice too, went to Holland, Hamburgh, &c., and the value of that was also sent to Britain. Add to this, that contenting ourselves with paper, all the hard money we could possibly pick up among the foreign West India islands, was continually sent off to Britain, not a ship going thither from America without some chests of those precious metals.

Imagine this great machine of mutually advan-

tageous commerce, going roundly on, in full train; our ports all busy, receiving and selling British manufactures, and equipping ships for the circuitous trade that was finally to procure the necessary remittances; the seas covered with those ships, and with several hundred sail of our fishermen, all working for Britain; and then let us consider what effect the conduct of Britain in 1774 and 1775 and the following years, must naturally have on the future ability of our merchants to make the payments in question.

We will not here enter into the motives of that conduct; they are well enough known, and not to her honor. The first step was shutting up the port of Boston by an act of parliament; the next to prohibit by another the New England fishery. An army and a fleet were sent to enforce these acts. Here was a stop put at once to all the mercantile operations of one of the greatest trading cities of America; the fishing vessels all laid up, and the usual remittances by way of Spain, Portugal, and the Straits, rendered impossible. Yet the cry was now begun against us, *These New England people do not pay their debts!*

The ships of the fleet employed themselves in cruising separately all along the coast. The marine gentry are seldom so well contented with their pay, as not to like a little plunder. They stopped and seized, under slight pretences, the American vessels they met with, belonging to

whatever colony. This checked the commerce of them all. Ships loaded with cargoes destined either directly or indirectly to make remittance in England, were not spared. If the differences between the two countries had been then accommodated, these unauthorised plunderers would have been called to account, and many of their exploits must have been found piracy. But what cured all this, set their minds at ease, made short work, and gave full scope to their piratical disposition, was another act of parliament, forbidding any inquisition into those *past* facts, declaring them all lawful, and all American property to be forfeited, whether on sea or land, and authorising the king's British subjects to take, seize, sink, burn, or destroy, whatever they could find of it. The property suddenly and by surprise, taken from our merchants by the operation of this act, is incomputable. And yet the cry did not diminish, *These Americans don't pay their debts!*

Had the several states of America, on the publication of this act seized all British property in their power, whether consisting of lands in their country, ships in their harbors, or debts in the hands of their merchants, by way of retaliation, it is probable a great part of the world would have deemed such conduct justifiable. They it seems thought otherwise, and it was done only in one or two states, and that under particular circumstances of provocation. And not having thus abolished

all demands, the cry subsists that *the Americans should pay their debts!*

General Gage being with his army, (before the declaration of open war) in peaceable possession of Boston, shut its gates, and placed guards all around to prevent its communication with the country. The inhabitants were on the point of starving. The general, though they were evidently at his mercy, fearing that while they had any arms in their hands, frantic desperation might possibly do him some mischief, proposed to them a capitulation, in which he stipulated, that if they would deliver up their arms, they might leave the town with their family and *goods*. In faith of this agreement, they delivered their arms. But when they began to pack up for their departure, they were informed, that by the word *goods*, the general understood only household goods, that is, their beds, chairs, and tables, not *merchant goods*; those he was informed they were indebted for to the merchants of England, and he must secure them for the creditors. They were accordingly all seized, to an immense value, *what had been paid for not excepted.* It is to be supposed, though we have never heard of it, that this very honorable general, when he returned home, made a just distribution of those goods, or their value, among the said creditors. But the cry nevertheless continued, *These Boston people do not pay their debts!*

The army having thus ruined Boston, proceeded

to different parts of the continent. They got possession of all the capital trading towns The troops gorged themselves with plunder. They stopped all the trade of Philadelphia for near a year, of Rhode Island longer, of New York near eight years, of Charlestown in South Carolina and Savannah in Georgia, I forget how long. This continued interruption of their commerce ruined many merchants. The army also burnt to the ground the fine towns of Falmouth and Charlestown near Boston, New London, Fairfield, Norwalk, Esopus, Norfolk, the chief trading town in Virginia, besides innumerable tenements and private farm houses. This wanton destruction of property operated doubly to the disabling of our merchants, who were importers from Britain, in making their payments, by the immoderate loss they sustained themselves, and also the loss suffered by their country debtors, who had bought of them the British goods, and who were now rendered unable to pay. The debts to Britain of course remained undischarged, and the clamor continued, *These knavish Americans will not pay us!*

Many of the British debts, particularly in Virginia and the Carolinas, arose from the sales made of negroes in those provinces by the British Guinea merchants. These, with all before in the country, were employed when the war came on, in raising tobaccos and rice for remittance in payment of British debts. An order arrives from England,

advised by one of their most celebrated *moralists*, Doctor *Johnson*, in his *Taxation no Tyranny*, to excite these slaves to rise, cut the throats of their purchasers, and resort to the British army, where they should be rewarded with freedom. This was done, and the planters were thus deprived of near 30,000 of their working people. Yet the demand for those sold and unpaid still exists; and the cry continues against the Virginians and Carolinians, that *they do not pay their debts!*

Virginia suffered great loss in this kind of property, by another ingenious and humane British invention. Having the small-pox in their army while in that country, they inoculated some of the negroes they took as prisoners belonging to a number of plantations, and then let them escape, or sent them covered with the pock to mix with and spread the distemper among the others of their color, as well as among the white country people, which occasioned a great mortality of both; and certainly did not contribute to the enabling debtors in making payment. The war too having put a stop to the exportation of tobacco, there was a great accumulation of several years' produce in all the public inspecting warehouses and private stores of the planters. Arnold, Philips, and Cornwallis, with British troops, then entered and over-ran the country, burnt all the inspecting and other stores of tobacco, to the amount of some hundred ship-loads; all which might on the return of peace, if

it had not been thus wantonly destroyed, have been remitted to British creditors. But *these d—d Virginians, why don't they pay their debts?*

Paper money was in those times our universal currency. But it being the instrument with which we combated our enemies, they resolved to deprive us of its use by depreciating it; and the most effectual means they could contrive was to counterfeit it. The artists they employed performed so well, that immense quantities of these counterfeits which issued from the British government in New York, were circulated among the inhabitants of all the states, before the fraud was detected. This operated considerably in depreciating the whole mass, first, by the vast additional quantity, and next by the uncertainty in distinguishing the true from the false; and the depreciation was a loss to all and the ruin of many. It is true our enemies gained a vast deal of our property by the operation, but it did not go into the hands of our particular creditors, so their demands still subsisted, and we were still abused *for not paying our debts!*

By the seventh article of the treaty of peace, it was solemnly stipulated, that the king's troops in evacuating their posts in the United States, should not carry away with them any negroes. In direct violation of this article, General Carleton, in evacuating New York, carried off all the negroes that were there with his army, to the amount of several hundreds. It is not doubted that he must have

had secret orders to justify him in this transaction: but the reason given out was, that as they had quitted their masters and joined the king's troops on the faith of proclamations promising them their liberty, the national honor forbad returning them into slavery. The national honor was, it seemed, pledged to both parts of a contradiction, and its wisdom, since it could not do it with both, chose to keep faith rather with its old black, than its new white friends: a circumstance demonstrating clear as day-light, that in making a present peace, they meditated a future war, and hoped, that though the promised manumission of slaves had not been effectual in the *last*, in the *next* it might be more successful; and that had the negroes been forsaken, no aid could hereafter be expected from those of the color in a future invasion. The treaty however with us was thus broken almost as soon as made, and this by the people who charge us with breaking it by not paying perhaps for some of the very negroes carried off in defiance of it. Why should England observe treaties, *when these Americans do not pay their debts?*

Unreasonable, however, as this clamor appears in general, I do not pretend, by exposing it, to justify those debtors who are still able to pay, and refuse it on pretence of injuries suffered by the war. Public injuries can never discharge private obligations. Contracts between merchant and merchant should be sacredly observed, where the

ability remains, whatever may be the madness of ministers. It is therefore to be hoped the fourth article of the treaty of peace which stipulates, *that no legal obstruction shall be given to the payment of debts contracted before the war*, will be punctually carried into execution, and that every law in every state which impedes it, may be immediately repealed. Those laws were indeed made with honest intentions, that the half-ruined debtor, not being too suddenly pressed by *some* might have time to arrange and recover his affairs so as to do justice to *all* his creditors. But since the intention in making those acts has been misapprehended, and the acts wilfully misconstrued into a design of defrauding them, and now made a matter of reproach to us, I think it will be right to repeal them all. Individual Americans may be ruined, but the country will save by the operation, since these unthinking merciless creditors must be contented with all that is to be had, instead of all that may be due to them, and the accounts will be settled by insolvency. When all have paid that can pay, I think the remaining British creditors who suffered by the inability of their ruined debtors, have some right to call upon their own government, (which by its bad projects has ruined those debtors) for a compensation. A sum given by parliament for this purpose would be more properly disposed, than in rewarding pretended loyalists, who fomented the war. And the heavier the sum,

the more tendency it might have to discourage such destructive projects hereafter.

Among the merchants of Britain, trading formerly to America, there are to my knowledge many considerate and generous men, who never joined in this clamor, and who, on the return of peace, though by the treaty intitled to an immediate suit for their debts, were kindly disposed to give their debtors reasonable time for restoring their circumstances, so as to be able to make payment conveniently. These deserve the most grateful acknowledgments. And indeed it was in their favor, and perhaps for their sakes in favor of all other British creditors, that the law of Pennsylvania, though since much exclaimed against, was made restraining the recovery of old debts during a certain time. For this restraint was general, respecting domestic as well as British *debts*, it being thought unfair, in cases where there was not sufficient for all, that the inhabitants, taking advantage of their nearer situation, should swallow the whole, excluding foreign creditors from any share. And in cases where the favorable part of the foreign creditors were disposed to give time, with the views above-mentioned, if others less humane and considerate were allowed to bring immediate suits and ruin the debtor; those views would be defeated. When this law expired in Sept. 1784, a new one was made, continuing for some time longer the restraint with respect to

domestic debts, but expressly taking it away where the debt was due from citizens of the state to any of the subjects of Great Britain;[1] which shows clearly the disposition of the assembly, and that the fair intentions above ascribed to them in making the former act, are not merely the imagination of the writer.

Indeed the clamor has been much augmented by numbers joining it who really had no claim on our country. Every debtor in Britain, engaged in whatever trade, when he had no better excuse to give for delay of payment, accused the want of returns from America. And the indignation thus excited against us now appears so general among the English, that one would imagine their nation which is so exact in expecting punctual payment from all the rest of the world, must be at home the model of justice, the very pattern of punctuality. Yet if one were disposed to recriminate, it would

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[1] Extract from an Act of General Assembly of Pennsylvania, intituled, "An Act for directing the mode of recovering debts contracted before the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven."

Exception in favor of British Creditors.

"Sect. 7. And provided also, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that this Act, nor any thing therein contained, shall not extend, or be construed to extend to any debt or debts which were due before the fourth day of July one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six by any of the citizens of the State, to any of the subjects of Great Britain."

not be difficult to find sufficient matter in several parts of their conduct. But this I forbear. The two separate nations are now at peace, and there can be no use in mutual provocations to fresh enmity. If I have shown clearly that the present inability of many American merchants to discharge their debts contracted before the war, is not so much their fault, as the fault of the crediting nation, who by making an unjust war on them, obstructing their commerce, plundering and devastating their country were the cause of that inability, I have answered the purpose of writing this paper. How far the refusal of the British court to execute the treaty in delivering up the frontier posts, may on account of that deficiency of payment be justifiable, is cheerfully submitted to the world's impartial judgment.

END OF VOL. I.

